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ABSTRACT

This report describes the development of teacher certification in America, arguing that changes in and debates about teacher certification have revolved around four clusters of questions: who should control teacher licensing; the proper basis for making decisions about assuring teacher competence in individual cases; elements of teacher training courses; and how detailed and specific licensing systems should be. Three sections describe: (1) "Teacher Certification and Training in the Nineteenth Century" (e.g., who licensed, who trained teachers, different training regimens for urban and rural teachers, teachers' educational attainment, which knowledge was examined, politics of education, looking to Europe, and New York state); (2) "Teacher Certification and the Educational Trust" (e.g., the rise of administrative progressives, progressives target teacher certification, state control, from normal schools to teachers' colleges, schools and colleges of education, increases in formal training requirements, and decline of certification by examination); and (3) "The War and Post-war Years" (e.g., the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education, educationists versus critics of American education, classroom teachers aligned with liberal arts departments, criticism from liberal arts faculty, revising the credentialing system, and unified professional collapses). Contains 79 notes. (SM)

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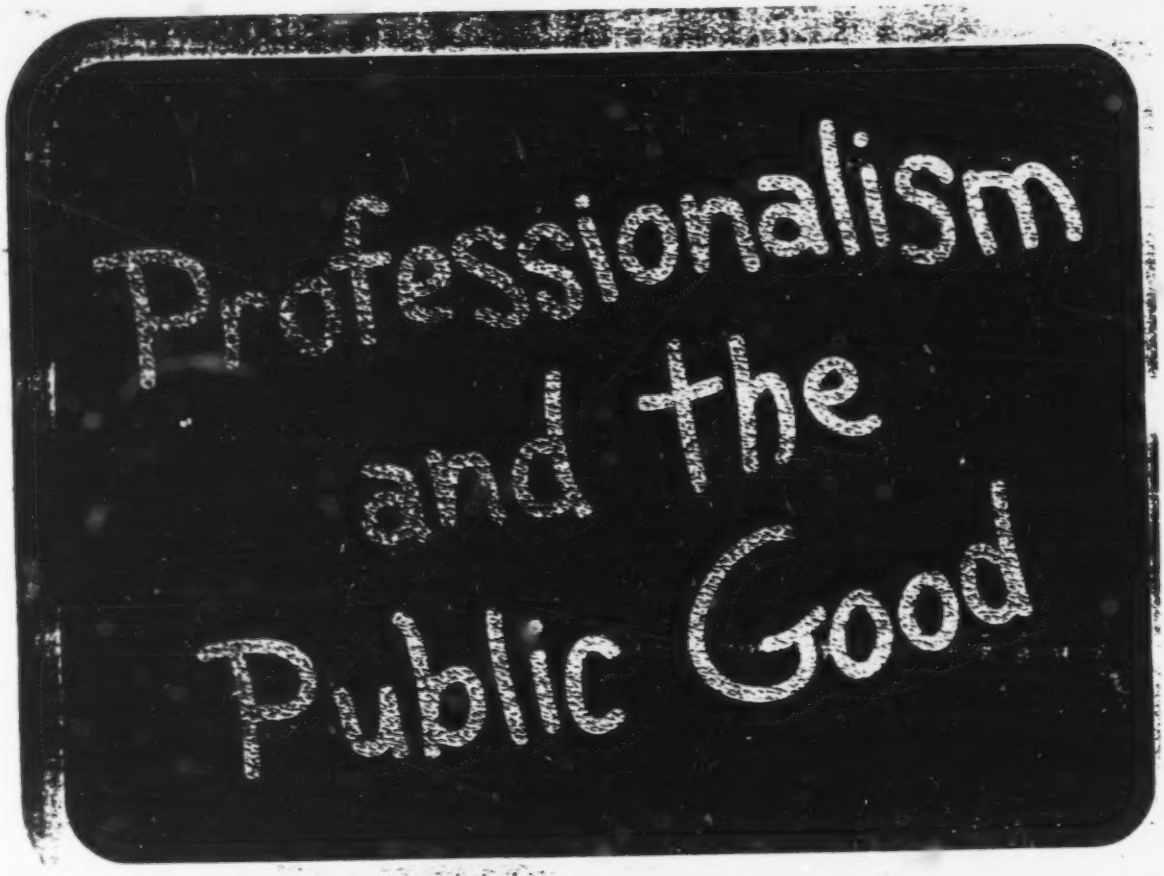

A Brief History of Teacher Certification

by David L. Angus

Edited by Jeffrey Mirel

JANUARY 2001

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Professionalism and the Public Good

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Foreword

The surest path to better schools is better teachers, yet today's system for preparing and licensing teachers is manifestly not up to that challenge. Nor, regrettably, are most contemporary proposals for revitalizing that system. Instead of seeking new ways of training teachers and different pathways into the K-12 classroom, most of the influential groups in education are urging "more of the same": ever heavier regulation by , more time spent in ever-more-homogeneous education schools by prospective teachers, and a crackdown on alternatives and exceptions. Unfortunately, but perhaps not surprisingly, this is the policy course that many states are following—and influential forces at the national level are egging them on.

Where did this whole regimen come from? we at the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation found ourselves asking. How did America fall into the belief that state governments should "certify" teachers for our public schools? When and why did the practice start? It struck us that "teacher certification" is now so familiar a phrase that many people utter it without knowing why the country headed down this path in the first place. We wanted to know more. We needed an historian–and not just any historian. We sought one who knew something about teacher preparation.

At the urging of our colleagues Diane Ravitch and Jeffrey Mirel, both distinguished education historians in their own right, we turned to David Angus, the eminent scholar of education history, to tackle this topic for us. Professor Angus had written extensively on the origins of urban schools and on the transformation of the high school, and he was interested in exploring the emergence of state authority over the issuance of teaching credentials. Though he was not well, Professor Angus generously agreed to write a paper on this subject for the Foundation. He commenced work on the project in the summer of 1998 and bravely continued working on it even as his health declined. He was approaching the completion of this project at the time of his death in August 1999. It is thus the concluding work of a fine scholar and an ardent educator. We are grateful beyond words for the extraordinary effort that David Angus made on our—and now your—behalf.

The manuscript that Professor Angus left was well advanced but not finished. Parts needed to be filled in and the whole draft needed an editorial once-over. We were fortunate indeed when

Professor Jeffrey Mirel agreed to shoulder this task. Jeff was exceptionally busy at the time—owing not least to his work on another project for this Foundation—but that did not deter him. A former student and colleague of David Angus's (and co-author with him of *The Failed Promise of the American High School, 1890-1995*, published in 1999), Jeff undertook the completion and editing of this paper, and has also crafted an epilogue for it, as a labor of love and respect for his mentor and friend. (To be sure, this is a topic that, Jeff, too, was keen to illuminate.)

We are very pleased, therefore, to provide this fine work of history by two terrific scholars. The late David Angus was Professor of Education at the University of Michigan for thirty-three years, and Jeffrey Mirel has just moved to Ann Arbor from Emory University to take over Professor Angus' position.

The knowledgeable reader is apt to finish this study with a sense of déjà vu. It turns out that nearly all the criticisms made of teacher preparation today—as well as nearly all the reform proposals being advanced from various quarters—are far from new. They were being voiced decades ago. Indeed, the central arguments of the teacher quality debate appear to have changed little over the last century. The central theme of this paper—the education profession's relentless efforts to gain control over the licensing of teachers—is a major theme in today's debate as well. The most important lesson imparted by this paper, however, is that our present system of teacher training and licensure was not inevitable. It is not enshrined in the Constitution. It is nowhere to be found in the Bible. It is, in fact, a policy structure that could be altered. The Angus-Mirel paper subtly points the way toward reforms that could improve the preparation of today's teachers.

As you will see, the story begins in the nineteenth century, when schooling and teacher preparation followed two wholly different patterns, one mostly in rural areas, the other in cities and towns. During this period, even as professional educators advanced the notion that all teachers should be prepared through formal training programs, Americans were skeptical. Those in rural communities especially tended to believe that good teachers were born rather than made, and that they needed only a little bit of formal pedagogical training. For the most part, educators were not thought to possess a body of important, arcane knowledge, and nineteenth century Americans generally resisted the idea that experts should decide key questions about schooling.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, however, professional educators gained greater control over the nation's schools and the licensing of teachers. Local communities gradually lost the ability to determine for themselves who would teach in their classrooms. As far as the professionals in the "education trust" were concerned, the wishes of ordinary citizens were irrelevant. Gradually, formal, university-based education requirements for teachers replaced the old certification exams, which the professional education establishment belittled as a back door route that allowed poorly qualified persons to infiltrate the nation's classrooms.

After World War II, professors in other parts of the university besides schools of education, soon joined by teachers' organizations, sought a larger role in the determination of policy for teacher preparation and certification. School quality became a big issue in the years after Sputnik, and some blamed the colleges of education. In the late 1950s, the system of teacher preparation came under attack for its low standards of entry and exit, its Mickey Mouse courses, overemphasis on pedagogy rather than subject mastery, the lack of a coherent professional knowledge base, and the absence of reliable evidence that teacher training has a relationship to effective classroom teaching. By the mid-70s, the ideas of the education establishment were rejected by much of the public and even by many within the profession. This skepticism runs broad and deep today.

While Dr. Angus's study does not offer policy recommendations, the history he recounts seems to point in a clear direction. The certification saga is a story of attempts by the teacher education establishment to gain monopoly control over the preparation and licensure of all teachers. That establishment has won enormous victories. As a result, a large majority of today's teachers studied education both as undergraduates and as graduates. And therein lies the seed of a worthy reform: what the country needs is teachers who are broadly and deeply educated, not people who mostly studied education. In his epilogue, Jeffrey Mirel suggests that, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, we should be seeking new ways to define the problem of teacher preparation and devising innovative programs for supplying teachers to the nation's public school classrooms. We hope that outside-the-box thinking about teacher training and licensure will become more widely accepted as the century proceeds. This outstanding paper by Messrs. Angus and Mirel should help establish the basis for such acceptance.

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Chester E. Finn, Jr., President
Thomas B. Fordham Foundation
Washington, DC
January 2001

Editor's Note

David Angus had completed most of this study just prior to his death in August 1999. He left brief notes about what he still hoped to accomplish and how he planned to wrap up the project. In editing the manuscript, I have tried to follow his suggestions as closely as possible, but have left out several sections—particularly case studies of different states—that he intended to include as well as sections that he had not completed. I have also not attempted to write the final section on the 1980s and 1990s that he had projected. It was unclear from David's notes whether he actually planned to trace the story through those decades, or what he was going to say about developments in that period. Rather, I have written a short epilogue that suggests how he might have carried out the final section.

I would like to thank Robert Bain, David Labaree, and Maris Vinovskis for their helpful comments and suggestions on the manuscript. They, of course, are not responsible for any errors or inaccuracies.

Jeffrey Mirel
University of Michigan

Introduction

As the twentieth century drew to a close, America's public schools were under fire. In the last two decades of the century, criticism and reform have taken place side-by-side, unremittingly, making this one of the most sustained periods of reform in American educational history. While there have been numerous targets of criticism—the "cafeteria-style" high school curriculum, low test results, and the locus of control over educational policy—the issue of the quality and qualifications of the nation's teaching corps has loomed large. Many critics have been accused of "teacher-bashing," blaming the educational failures of the nation on those who work in our schools and classrooms, and indeed there have been periods when this seemed to emerge as a main theme. Other reformers have suggested ways to enlist teachers in the struggle for better schools, arguing that, without their knowledge, help, and cooperation, no fundamental reform is possible. Some of these reforms have looked to restructure the occupation of teaching in ways that would increase incentives for effective teaching, such as career ladders or merit pay. Others have tried to address issues of certification, teacher education, and teacher competency through systems of examinations of teachers or programs of professional development. A subtext of many of these efforts has been questions about the power of educational professionals (often identified with teachers' unions) and the degree to which demands for professional status and prerogatives represent the best interests and values of teachers or the society as a whole.

As the twentieth century drew to a close the issue of the quality and qualifications of the nation's teaching corps has loomed large.

While the duration and intensity of the current reform campaign in American education may be historically unprecedented, none of the actual questions regarding such issues as teacher certification, teacher training, testing, job assignments, or the role and power of educational professionals is new. Our national non-system of teacher certification, and the approaches to teacher education which it both reflects and influences, have evolved over a long time, a period during which the important questions of the late twentieth century had already been raised in the context of their own time. My purpose here is to lay out the main lines of development of teacher certification in America in such a way that these late twentieth century issues are seen in the fuller context of our national experience. I argue that changes in and debates about teacher certification have revolved around four clusters of questions. While our answers to these questions—often different answers in different states at different times—have shifted and changed, the issues themselves have a surprising constancy.

Debates revolve around four questions

First, there is perhaps the ultimate question, who should control the licensing of teachers? In some professions, the agencies that control entry are made up wholly or largely of members of that profession, this despite the fact that state governments always have final constitutional authority for licensing. States have delegated the actual control of the process and standards to the profession, itself, on grounds that it is in the public interest to do this and that the public is

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best protected from incompetence by allowing the fullest expression of professional judgment. The question is whether teaching is one of the professions to which this logic should be applied. For most of our history, the answer has been "no," and one of the stories that will be told here concerns efforts by the profession to convince state legislatures and the public that it ought to be "yes."

Whether the profession or a public agency should control the process and standards through which the competence of teachers is assured, a second set of questions has been raised about the proper basis for making that decision in individual cases. Should it be based on a score on an examination? Should it be based on successful completion of an "approved" training program? Should it include both? Looking across the twentieth century, one might think we have come full circle. At the opening of the century, examinations were far and away the primary means of determining the competence of aspiring teachers. By mid-century certification examinations had all but disappeared. As the century closed we were placing much more emphasis on examinations again. Yet, over the same time, the education and training requirements for teaching have risen almost unremittingly, the numbers and styles of training programs have proliferated, and we have today a teaching force with the highest levels of formal education in the world, with over 40 percent of public K-12 teachers holding at least a master's degree.[1] (Many of these master's degrees, however, are in education rather than in academic subjects.) Unfortunately, the academic performance levels of our students do not take a similar ranking and this has led to grave doubts about the efficacy of our huge investment in teacher education. The turn back to exams for teachers is certainly understandable in this context, but whether it is an effective solution to the competence issue remains highly debatable.

At the opening of the century, examinations were far and away the primary means of determining the competence of aspiring teachers.

It seems unlikely that we will abandon the education of teachers in programs designed for that purpose. But we will surely want to modify them in ways to make them more effective and, at the same time, more attractive to talented students. The third cluster of questions, then, is what should be the elements of a course of training for teachers? As the system has evolved, we have traditionally identified three or four main elements: general academic education, subject area specialization, and professional courses followed by a student teaching or intern experience. There have, of course, been alternatives suggested and tried at different times, including alternatives that eliminated the professional component almost altogether. But the fact remains that, at present, the vast majority of licenses to teach are based on evidence of completion of such a program, with or without examination. Because determining the relative importance of these various elements and their inclusion in a certification system always involves conflicts—between classroom teachers and other elements of the profession, between professors of education and professors in the liberal arts and sciences, between state department of education officials and those teaching in universities, between so-called "research universities" and former teachers colleges—this issue has been one of the most contentious in the long development of teacher certification.

Finally, there are questions about how detailed and specific a licensing system should be. Should teachers be licensed to

teach physics or science? French or foreign language? Trigonometry or mathematics? Should school nutritionists, dental hygienists, reading specialists be specifically licensed? Should school administrators be barred from ever asking a teacher or other employee to do anything for which they are not specifically licensed? What role should teacher certification play in determining the daily work assignments of school employees? Education reformers of the late twentieth century are not the first to have asked these sorts of questions or to presume that they have the answers.

Behind all these questions lies another, that of the supply/demand ratio in teaching at any given time. This factor influences decisions that we make about teacher certification in both obvious and not-so-obvious ways. Because of the limited scope of this study, I have not tried to tell a complete story of teacher supply and demand. Nevertheless, the issue is dealt with as it arises in appropriate places, including a context that we have all but forgotten, America's rural schools and the special problems of small schools that they have always brought to the fore.

In my interpretation of the history of teacher certification, the relentless efforts of the profession to exert more influence over the licensing of teachers emerges as a main theme. At each stage of its own development, and despite internal differences and power struggles, the profession has sought to get its interests expressed in regulation and law. It has also tried to portray its own efforts to do this as non-political and in accord with the larger public good. It seems inevitable that the public will remain skeptical of this notion, however sincere the profession may be in expressing it.

In the history of teacher certification, the relentless efforts of the profession to exert more influence over the licensing of teachers, with the public remaining skeptical, emerge as a main theme.

This study is designed to provide historical background and context for current debates about education policy, indicate how we arrived at our present process of teacher education and certification, identify recurring themes in that history, and demonstrate that the current approach to teacher education was neither inevitable nor immutable. Still, it is important to note that this work is designed mainly to illuminate the present in light of the past rather than to identify a distinct policy course for the future.

Teacher Certification and Training in the Nineteenth Century

In the late nineteenth century, a movement to centralize state authority over the certification of teachers was well underway. Though only three states, New York, Rhode Island, and Arizona (as a territory), had gone so far as to require that all new teaching certificates be issued by state officials (as contrasted to county or local officials), over the next third of a century that number would rise to 38 states, and the main outlines of today's system of teacher certification would be in place.

The idea of licensing teachers was not new in the late nineteenth century. Parents have always had an interest in assuring that the people to whom they give up their children for tutelage were of good moral character and qualified for their tasks. We can find numerous historical references to the issuing of licenses to teach, some as early as Roman times. In colonial America, it was common for communities to require that anyone proposing to teach be approved by one or more of the local ministers. Such approval was at least contingent upon "good moral character" and might be withheld from those not holding the same religious views as the minister.[2] It seems that not much attention was paid to whether or not the aspiring teacher knew the subjects he was proposing to teach or had the requisite skill, art, or experience to be effective in the role of teacher. But over the course of the nineteenth century, as the authority for licensing teachers passed from ecclesiastical to civil authorities, the criteria for licensing expanded to include, first, knowledge of subject matter and later, knowledge of pedagogy, usually determined by means of an examination.

In the late nineteenth century, a movement to centralize state authority over the certification of teachers was well underway.

In the 1830s and 1840s, as cities and states moved toward replacing an informal collection of tuition-supported and variously sponsored charity schools with a system of free, common schools, the question of supplying and selecting teachers became more acute. To fully appreciate both the difficulties encountered in doing this and the various solutions that emerged, it is important to recognize that America was developing not one pattern of education but two: first was a rural pattern consisting of thousands of one-teacher schools serving the children in small districts and largely controlled by their farmer parents, and second was an urban pattern of large, multi-classroom schools offering "graded" instruction organized into school systems controlled by elected or appointed boards of education.[3] Rural schools operated on a calendar that reflected the rhythms and labor needs of farm life and consequently enrolled higher percentages of children than the city schools, although for much shorter school terms. City children entered school a bit later and left earlier, though over their school careers they received more total weeks of schooling on average than their rural counterparts. By all accounts, teaching was much more difficult and salaries much lower in the country schools. These differences (and there were many others) framed the numerous controversies over where and how teachers should be trained and licensed. They also framed a long-running battle between professional educators who took their model of the effective teacher from the graded urban schools and the farmer-educators who faced the practical problems of providing a modicum of schooling for their children at costs they could afford.[4]

Who licensed?

How and by whom were teachers licensed? The vast majority of U.S. teachers in the second half of the nineteenth century received their first, and perhaps only, certificate to teach from local officials on the basis of their performance on an exam. In the early years, this exam might consist simply of a few questions posed orally by a member of the district board, anxious to be sure that the prospective teacher knew at least as much as the older children he or she would be instructing. Later, as state education officials sought to exert more control over the country schools, longer and more detailed written examinations were offered to applicants at the

township or county level, with passing scores resulting in the issuance of certificates to teach within the area organizing the examination for varying lengths of time.

Some certificates were issued directly by state officials. In 1843, New York authorized its state superintendent to set examinations and issue certificates that were valid state-wide. Indiana followed suit in 1852, Pennsylvania in 1854, and most other states by the end of the century.[5] After the emergence of state normal schools and university departments of education, the graduates of these programs received their certificates from a state official or the trustees of these institutions. (Normal schools were teacher training institutions that, at least in their early years, provided what was essentially a high school education or basic first- and second-year college education to prospective teachers. These normal schools eventually evolved into colleges of education and, as we shall see, into comprehensive universities.[6] In some states, college graduates were issued certificates to teach whether or not they had any formal training. "By 1897, 28 states certified teachers on the basis of graduation from a normal school or university without further examination."[7] In other states, even graduates of normal schools were obliged to take a state or county examination. This is not surprising, given that much of the instruction provided by normal schools was in basic subjects at a level commonly associated with the grammar or high school grades.

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Who trained teachers?

Schemes to provide formal training for teachers evolved slowly over the nineteenth century. By century's end, teacher education had assumed four different, and in many ways competing, forms: state and private normal schools; training programs connected with high schools or normal schools in large cities; "chairs of pedagogy" or teachers departments in colleges and universities; and institutes aimed largely at the training of teachers for the rural schools. The earliest form of teacher preparation was in private or state-subsidized academies and seminaries. Courses aimed at the preparation of teachers were to be found in such academies as early as 1785, and beginning in 1823, the Rev. Samuel Hall developed a more substantial program for teacher preparation and initiated this program in several "teachers seminaries" in the northeast region. In New York, the need for "a supply of teachers for the common schools" was one of the bases for state-subsidization of the private academies in the 1820s and 1830s. By the mid-1830s, "departments" for teacher preparation could be found in academies in several states, many of them receiving state subsidies.

By mid-century, private and semi-private academies and seminaries were giving way to public high schools, and the future of teacher preparation seemed to point toward a more active role for the state. Many high schools had a "normal" department that trained teachers for the common schools. This function put them in direct competition with academies and seminaries, and eventually led to the decline of most teacher training at the academies. Eventually, however, normal schools took over this function from high schools.

Massachusetts led the way toward state supported and controlled normal schools. The first state normal school was established in Lexington in 1839 and two others were opened by 1840. Between 1860 and 1900, the idea of training teachers in specialized,

tax-supported institutions spread fairly rapidly throughout New England and into the Midwest. By the close of the nineteenth century, there were 127 state-supported normal schools and a slightly larger number of private normal schools. While all may have owed something to the pioneering institutions in Massachusetts, over the second half of the century important differences developed between eastern and western normal schools. The New England version enrolled mainly young women who had no prior teaching experience. It tended to limit its offerings to "short" courses in educational methods, principles, and techniques and aimed at supplying teachers for elementary schools. The students entering western normals were older, included a higher percentage of men, and were likely to have taught for awhile, holding teaching certificates granted on the basis of examinations. The western curriculum included both academic courses and professional courses, organized into programs of two, three, or four years duration and designed to prepare young women to get better and more secure teaching jobs in towns and cities and young men to enter the growing ranks of school administrators. It was this "collegiate" orientation of the western normal schools that led the transformation of normal schools into teachers colleges after the turn of the century.[5]

One-man departments of education in Midwestern state universities evolved into today's university-based schools of education.

Different training regimens for urban and rural teachers

While teaching jobs in cities were usually seen as more desirable, the stunning growth rates of cities throughout the second half of the century meant that they also struggled to staff their elementary schools with qualified teachers. One response to this was the establishment of "normal" courses in the city's own high schools or in separate normal schools under the control of the board of education, which was often empowered by state law to issue its own teaching certificates. These schools had higher entry requirements than the state or private normal schools, generally admitting only students who had already completed two or three years of high school. They also were able to provide much more observation and practical experience in their training programs. Urban boards of education were able to control the supply of teachers for the city schools by raising or lowering entrance requirements, by issuing certificates only to those who had received their training in these schools, and even by suspending the training programs during brief periods of oversupply. This type of teacher training lasted well into the twentieth century, mostly because certification and training requirements in the large cities remained a notch or two more exacting than state or county requirements.

The establishment of "chairs of pedagogy" in some Midwestern state universities was important because these evolved into today's university-based schools of education, especially those that later made up the Holmes Group. Their initial purpose was to provide a course or two in the "science and art" of teaching to university students who might wish to enter teaching after graduation. These one-man departments of education were considered to be of collegiate grade, though they were established after a long period in which colleges and universities sporadically offered teacher training in normal departments that were associated with pre-collegiate (high school level) departments. The University of Iowa opened such a department in 1855 and though its

initial work was not at the collegiate level, it is said to have enrolled more than half of all the students connected with the university between 1858 and 1864. The University of Iowa eventually became one of the first, along with the University of Michigan, to establish a collegiate-level chair of education in the 1870s. The early pre-collegiate normal departments aimed at training elementary teachers, while the later departments focused on training teachers for the secondary schools. Nevertheless, a number of state universities were authorized by legislatures to grant teaching certificates to any university graduate wanting to receive one, and these certificates were often valid for either secondary or elementary teaching.

Rural schools struggle to attract enough teachers

The number of teachers being graduated from these three forms of teacher training fell far short of meeting the nation's need for teachers in the nineteenth century, and it was rural schools that had difficulty attracting those with "proper" training. The establishment of state normal schools in the Midwest had been a difficult political struggle, and, in order to gain legislative assent, professional educators had both vilified the ill-trained country school teachers and promised great improvements in the supply of well-trained teachers.[9] In the 1870s, several Midwestern legislatures reevaluated their normal schools and reduced their appropriations on grounds that the normal schools were educating teachers well beyond the station of one-room school teacher and supplying almost none of those needed. While state normal schools survived these cutbacks and received increasing appropriations throughout the remainder of the century, legislatures turned to yet another form of training, the teacher institute, to supply the country schools.

The first teacher institute is said to have been offered by Henry Barnard in 1839, but it did not emerge as an important, state-supported form of teacher training until after the Civil War. For the most part, it was state-subsidized but not state-controlled. Though the first institutes were organized by state superintendents, by the 1870s the dominant form was organized by county superintendents. Some were held during the school year for short periods, but many more were organized as summer programs lasting from a few days to a month or more. These were mainly locally-controlled institutions, responding to the practical exigencies of rural life. They were generally self-supporting and inexpensive, and reflected the dominant view of the rural population that good teachers were born not made, hence needed only a modicum of training to sharpen and refine their natural abilities. Professional educators despised these institutes, partly because they didn't control them and were seldom invited to participate, but also because they threatened the image of professionalism that the educators were attempting to promote for teaching.[10]

In the nineteenth century, county superintendents ran teacher training institutes lasting from a few days to a month or more. Professional educators despised these institutes because they threatened the image of professionalism.

The curriculum of teachers institutes typically consisted of reviews of the basic subjects offered in the country schools, a few opportunities to be tutored in more advanced subjects, a few lectures on principles and methods of good teaching given by successful teachers chosen by the county superintendent,

and the opportunity to prepare for the county teachers examination that was often given as the concluding event of the institute. The vast majority of country school teachers, particularly in the Midwest, either had no training at all or entered their careers through these doors. Many young people attended institutes not because they intended to teach but because the institute offered them their only opportunity to extend their own education beyond what was offered in the country school. Fuller claims that "the county institutes were the rural young people's colleges," and the antagonisms between rural people and professional educators were such that "the state legislatures made no move to turn them over to the educators."[1]

How much education did teachers have?

In 1870, of the 6,800,000 children enrolled in public schools in America, fully 98 percent were enrolled below the high school level. The country schools rarely provided instruction beyond rudimentary knowledge of a few basic subjects, and while city school systems were stretching upward into grammar and high school grades, few families could forego the earnings of their teenagers long enough to let them take advantage of these opportunities. At the turn of the century, the share of enrollments below the high school still surpassed 96 percent. These facts framed both the nature of the role for which the vast majority of teachers needed to be licensed as well as the extent of prior schooling that might be required of those wishing to become licensed to teach. The vast majority of would-be teachers presenting themselves to be examined by local officials, enrolling in teachers institutes, or applying for admission to normal schools or departments in academies or colleges had no more than an elementary education.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, people described their own education not in terms of grades or levels completed but in terms of progress made in the two or three subjects they had formally studied or even by the number of pages completed in one or another of the common texts of the times. Later, urban schools became progressively more graded, and the idea of graded instruction was to a small degree extended to the country schools. Yet even in the most carefully graded city schools, the average number of years completed by students in the 1870s was only three and by century's end no more than five. It is not surprising, then, that those responsible for licensing teachers turned to written examinations as the best device to be sure that candidates knew the subjects they were to teach. Changes in certification requirements were seen less as increasing the quantity of prior formal schooling than as increasing the specificity of the subjects on which candidates should be examined and the difficulty of the tests.

What knowledge was examined?

In New York, prior to 1840, state law required only that "the literary qualifications" of prospective teachers be examined, but in 1841 a new law specified that the examination include "spelling, arithmetic, geography, history, and English grammar." Such specification was fairly common at mid-century, yet many states, such as Michigan, required only that candidates be examined in the subjects usually taught in the primary grades, their moral character, and their ability to teach and govern school. In 1867, Michigan joined most other states in requiring that applicants be examined in orthography, reading, writing, grammar, geography, and arithmetic and in establishing three levels of certificates, good for varying lengths of time, to be issued based on exam performance. This practice also became common.

Pennsylvania may have been the first state to specify subjects, requiring in 1834 that

teaching candidates be shown to be competent in reading, writing, and arithmetic. By 1867, this list was expanded to include orthography, geography, English grammar, history of the United States and, in the first instance of requiring what came to be known as "professional knowledge," the theory and practice of teaching. A historian of schooling in Pennsylvania said that the purpose of this inclusion was to encourage the study of the principles of the profession of teaching, since virtually no candidate at the time could have passed an examination in this subject and few superintendents could have given it.[12]

Over the last third of the century, further "progress" consisted more of standardizing the content of these subject examinations than in further expanding the list of subjects to be included. This standardization was inseparable from the gradual centralization discussed earlier, from town or township officials to county officials, from county officials to state officials, and from voluntary to required use of examination questions prepared by the state. Yet, given the unremitting pressure on the part of professional educators for firmer action by the states, increased formal training requirements for teachers, an upgrading of prior education requirements for beginning teachers, and their constant attacks on teachers institutes and locally administered examinations, one might well ask why they were not more successful.

Pennsylvania may have been the first state to specify the subjects to be covered by teacher examinations, requiring in 1834 that teaching candidates be shown to be competent in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The politics of education in the nineteenth century

Nineteenth century Americans demonstrated a curious ambivalence about politics. On the one hand they thoroughly enjoyed elections and selection of their own representatives. On the other, they distrusted government and even their own chosen representatives, and adopted a number of devices, such as constitutional limits on the number of days the legislature could be in session, to protect themselves from legislative activity. Americans' political imaginations did not stretch much beyond their local communities, what Robert Wiebe has called "island communities," where the solutions to problems were expected to be worked out.[13] In this climate, as David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot have argued, state legislatures were not so much instruments for the discussion and adoption of general policies as arenas in which legislators strove to protect or benefit their local communities.[14]

Then, as now, the preeminent political question was, "what should be the scope and range of government?" But education had a curious status. The idea that the provision of schooling was an appropriate government function was widely accepted by mid-century. Questions concerning the ways in which schooling should be organized and financed, however, remained contentious, and Americans showed a firm determination not to allow such questions to be decided by distant legislatures or "expert" educators. Local communities were willing to accept a modicum of state regulation in exchange for their fair share of state educational appropriations, usually based on federal land grants, but since these represented only a small proportion of school funding in comparison to local property taxes and "rate bills" imposed on the parents of schoolchildren, they tended to resist any increase in state authority.

Within this political framework,

professional educators could find few footholds from which to leverage enhancements to their authority, however much they were convinced that they had better ideas about how children should be schooled. Relying as they had to on persuasion, educators were handicapped by the fact that, in contrast to doctors and lawyers, they were not perceived as representing a body of important arcane knowledge. The task of schooling children in the rudiments of reading and ciphering was seen as something that many adults could do, if some more effectively than others. The idea was widespread that even this difference was more a matter of innate talent than of training. Anyone taking a close look at the normal schools of the day would likely have been reinforced in this view, as even the "professional knowledge" that formed a very small part of their curriculum could be perceived as little more than common sense.

Educators look to Europe

Professional educators were anxious to demonstrate that good teaching did indeed require a kind of specialized knowledge that could be transmitted through training programs. Throughout the century, they looked to Europe for the pedagogical theories and practices that might place teaching on a firm professional footing. An early example of this was the monitorial system developed by Joseph Lancaster in England in 1803. An instructional scheme whereby as many as five hundred children could be instructed by a single teacher through the use of ranked assistant teachers or monitors (the older students) and employing a rigidly prescribed curriculum, Lancasterian schools were the first public, common schools in New York and Philadelphia, and were to be found in many other cities and towns during the first third of the century. For a time, trained Lancasterian teachers were in great demand, assistant teachers could find employment in schools of their own and the Lancaster system evidenced many of the trappings of a full-fledged profession: scarce credentials, control of entry, conferences, associations, and formal training.[15]

A mid-century example was "object teaching" associated with the Swiss educator Johann Pestalozzi and promoted in the United States largely by Edward Sheldon, head of the normal school at Oswego, New York. From 1863 to the mid-1880s, the Oswego Normal School sent graduates all over the country as apostles of the method. Out of 1,373 graduates, 897 found places outside of New York, mostly as normal school teachers, critic teachers, and city school supervisors.[16] Holding a certificate from Oswego was a real distinction and many other normal schools were proud to have Oswego graduates on their faculty, lending credence to their own efforts to introduce the Pestalozzian system to aspiring teachers.

Taking center stage in the 1890s was a set of instructional principles based on the philosophy of the eminent German educator Johann Herbart and dubbed "the new education." Herbartians believed that teaching should be concentrated around studies of literature, history, and geography, but over time Herbartian pedagogy (like other formal methods) tended to become mechanistic. The leading center of Herbartianism was the Illinois Normal School where Charles DeGarmo and Frank and Charles MacMurray held forth. (By the turn of the century, Herbartianism was challenged by Dewey and eventually replaced by progressivism, which gained the allegiance of pedagogical leaders.) To many outside the profession, these European systems of instruction seemed more like education fads than the scientific breakthroughs they were often touted to be, and even within the profession, none of them attained a unanimity of support that would have allowed it to become the basis for extended claims to professional recognition.[17]

The case of New York state

There were as many approaches to the certification of teachers as there were states. Since the state of New York was a leader in this area, it offers a worthwhile illustration of the way these elements were interrelated.

From 1795 to 1812, qualifications for teaching were determined by town commissioners, with emphasis placed on personal character. After 1812, examinations came into general use with town commissioners, supplemented by inspectors, empowered to carry out the exams and issue licenses. In 1821, the Regents of the State of New York reported to the legislature that the state should look to the academies for "a supply of teachers for the common schools" and should subsidize this function. In 1826, Governor Clinton recommended the establishment of a seminary for teachers, and an 1827 act increased the literature fund "to promote the education of teachers." By 1831, academies in Canandaigua and St. Lawrence were offering courses in the principles of teaching. Other academies soon followed. An 1834 law, the first of its kind, provided for the education "in separate departments" of teachers for the common schools. In 1843, the office of county superintendent was created and the authority to examine prospective teachers and issue licenses was shared by town superintendents, county superintendents, and the state superintendent.[9]

A year later, a fully supported state normal school was opened in Albany and the state subsidy for training teachers in the academies began to be withdrawn. By 1849, so much controversy surrounded this school and its dynamic head that state support for teacher training in the academies was restored. Even so, in the major school law passed that year by the legislature, only the graduates of the Albany Normal School were licensed to teach without further examination. The office of county superintendent was abolished in 1847, leaving town officials and the state superintendent to examine and license. In 1856, however, county level school officials were restored and the state superintendent was empowered to prescribe the rules under which examinations would be given at the county level. In 1888, the superintendent was further empowered to actually prepare the questions for the examinations, and in 1894, the authority to set the questions, score the exams, and establish cut-off scores was fully vested in the state superintendent. When the state superintendent was given authority over the teachers institutes in 1899, New York became the first state to have a uniform system of certification under state control, a trend that would soon spread.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the "citizen," not the professional educator, was in control of the certification of teachers.

Summary

Throughout the nineteenth century, the "citizen," not the professional educator, was in control of the certification of teachers. Although the period saw the beginnings of formal training schemes of various sorts, as well as their recognition in certification practices, the idea promoted by career educators that it was essential for all teachers to be trained in such programs made small inroads. This was partly because of the relative power of local communities over state authorities in the management and regulation of schooling, but also because of a deeply rooted belief that teaching was something that most adults could do.

An important factor contributing to the failure of professional educators to realize

their objectives in the area of teacher education and certification was their contempt for rural education and their inability to propose any practical reforms of country schooling other than a complete reconstitution of the governance and structure of these systems. This arrogant stance relative to the schooling that the vast majority of the nation's children were receiving remained powerful in the next period of development. However, during this era, the ability of professional educators to shape the nation's school systems was greatly enhanced, and, at the same time, the professionals' underlying disdain for the ordinary citizen's wishes and desires with respect to the schooling of the nation's children became an even more pervasive theme.

Teacher Certification and the Educational Trust

State control of teacher certification proceeded rapidly in the first third of the twentieth century. This was accompanied, of course, by expansion of state departments of education and an increase in their authority over rural schools. The period also saw conversion of normal schools into teachers colleges, the raising of admission requirements to the level of high school completion, the decline of examinations and teachers institutes as primary means of certifying teachers for the country schools, a vast multiplication of the number, types, and specificity of the certificates issued, the expansion of the one-man departments of education in colleges and universities into full-blown schools of education, the enlargement of graduate programs and degrees in these schools, and perhaps above all, a coalescence of professional opinion around a highly unified ideology of what constituted a good teacher and a good preparation program. This new ideology was home-grown, not derived from European sources, and the degree of its acceptance within the profession was far greater than with any of its nineteenth century forebears.

From 1900 to 1930, professional educators were far more successful in placing their stamp on the whole pattern of American education. Two factors contributed to this success: changes in the makeup and structure of the profession, and changes in the political climate which made some legislators more responsive to ideas coming from professional interest groups. The key to the first development lies in the rapid expansion of those small collegiate departments of "pedagogy" into schools or colleges of education offering undergraduate and graduate degrees in more and more areas of specialization, the most important of which was school administration. The gatekeeping credential for membership in the education profession, certainly for positions of leadership, became the graduate degree granted by one of the more prestigious of these new schools. At the same time, many of these schools downplayed their teacher education function and a number of them dropped it entirely, opting to become strictly graduate schools of education and thus widening the gulf between the leadership of the profession and the classroom teachers who made up the vast bulk of the membership.[19] While in the nineteenth century the leadership of the education profession included college presidents and

faculty from a wide range of disciplines, in the twentieth century leadership was narrowed to faculty in the education schools and to city and county superintendents, state education officials, officers in state associations, and U.S. Bureau of Education staffers who often were graduates of their programs. David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot refer to this group as "administrative progressives" or members of the "educational trust."

> By the turn of the twentieth century, leadership in American public education had gravitated from the part-time educational evangelists who had created the common-school system to a new breed of professional managers who made education a life-long career and who were reshaping the schools according to canons of business efficiency and scientific expertise. These new leaders—whom we shall call administrative progressives or (in a term of the time) the "educational trust"—believed that they lived at a critical juncture in the evolution of American society.[20]

The educational trust pursued two related goals. One was to transform the American educational system so that it was more efficiently integrated with the vast economic changes sweeping the country; the other was to transform the system of school governance so that education policy would be based on the scientific expertise which only they represented and would be buffered from the gritty local politics which often reflected the values of ethnic voting blocs. On both of these objectives, they found ready supporters among the country's business and professional elites. The organizational model they favored for schooling was bureaucratic and hierarchical, owing much to the emerging structures of corporate capitalism.[21] The daily lives, welfare, and problems of teachers were of scant interest to them.

The rise of administrative progressives

The second factor contributing to the success of professional educators *during the* first third of the twentieth century was a change in the political climate. One aspect of this was rapid urbanization, which gave legislatures in many states a less agrarian cast. Many people understood that the economy was undergoing a shift from an agricultural to an industrial base, and that this would bring different problems requiring different solutions. Increasing respect for the authority of science also would play a role in devising these solutions as would the growing political power of corporate capital and the business community generally.

Walter Dean Burnham has highlighted the fact that voter participation, party loyalty, and the sharpness of competition between political parties all declined after the turn of the twentieth century, and he attributes this to a general apathy or alienation on the part of ethnic and working class voters that accompanied the consolidation of business control over public policy. Somewhat in contrast to this is Robert Wiebe's suggestion that, as social life moved beyond the confines of the nineteenth century "island communities" and people increasingly felt the influence of forces on their lives outside their control, they were more willing to look to state capitals and even to the federal government to regulate or balance these forces.[22] The administrative progressives were able to exploit these anxieties by confidently presenting scientifically-based solutions that appeared to be nonpolitical and that seemed to promise minimal disruption to long-established patterns of social life. Tyack, James, and Benevot provide us with a good summary.

> In certain respects, the early twentieth century was an ideal time for the administrative progressives to have campaigned for the legal restructuring of

education. The Progressive era was a time of transformation in state politics and a period of growth in the size and scope *of state government . . . older party* loyalties were eroding. Many Americans during the Progressive era were uneasy about extremes of wealth and poverty, feared that immigrant groups might be unassimilable, worried about the social effects of industrialism, and were especially concerned about the welfare of children and youth. . . . [The administrative progressives] promised that if the rising generation were properly educated, the problems besetting society might be solved without drastic disruption in the lives of adults.[23]

"The administrative progressives promised that if the rising generation were properly educated, the problems besetting society might be solved without drastic disruption in the lives of adults."

Progressives more successful in urban areas

The administrative progressives realized early on that to fundamentally transform the governance structure of public education required that they shape action by state legislatures. To impose the corporate model of governance on urban districts called for changes in city charters, and these were most often initiated in the state. The trust was particularly successful in transforming urban education, since it was in the cities where they were able to form their strongest bonds with business and professional elites and "civic reform" organizations and could use their growing influence in state policy decisions.[24]

Their efforts to transform rural schooling were less successful. The administrative progressives often spoke and wrote about "the rural school problem." They saw nothing to like about these schools. The one-teacher country schools were so antithetical to the hierarchical, bureaucratic model of schooling they promoted that the only "solution" to the rural school problem that they ever proposed was elimination of such schools via consolidation. The still-strong farm element in the legislatures knew that its constituents opposed the elimination of their schools, and even when legislators may have agreed with the main arguments of the progressives, arguments about "better-trained" teachers and an expansive curriculum, the laws that were passed on consolidation and pupil transportation were deliberately ambiguous and almost always gave local communities the vote on whether or not to consolidate.[25]

Legislative success on at least some of their reform objectives encouraged progressives to change state laws to achieve other objectives. One striking characteristic of the leadership of the education profession at this time was its high degree of consensus around main ideas. Historians have always tended to focus on disagreements, yet behind apparent "struggles" over such things as curricular philosophy, vocationalism, and the role of the federal government, there was striking consensus on basic principles. In the more "progressive" states, they were able to achieve a virtual transformation in the relation of the state to school and to build a legal structure that locked in their model of good schools.

Progressives target teacher certification

In no aspect of education was this consensus more evident than teacher

certification. Administrative progressives never wavered from the view that a higher quality, more professional teaching corps could only be produced by requiring more and more training in colleges of education or the collegiate normal schools; that their claim to scientific, arcane knowledge should be legitimated by issuing increasingly specialized certificates based on longer and longer periods of formal training; that control of entry should rest with the profession itself; that eliminating the local certificate (and the examination on which it was often based) was key; that state certification laws should be written only in broad strokes, leaving the details to a state bureaucracy controlled by their members; and finally that neither legislatures nor state education departments should exercise close supervisory authority over the curriculum and organization of teacher education programs and that institutional autonomy should be the watchword.

Administrative progressives never wavered from the view that a higher quality, more professional teaching corps could only be produced by requiring more and more training in colleges of education.

Just how successful were the administrative progressives in achieving these goals? Fortunately, there is a great deal of information available on how teacher certification changed over these years. State-level changes in the practice of certifying teachers were followed closely by the U.S. Office of Education, which issued increasingly detailed reports for the years 1898, 1903, 1911, 1921, 1927, 1935, and 1946.[26] While these reports provided an accurate summary of state practices, they were far from neutral. Indeed, the staff people who prepared them were representative of the emerging consensus among professional educators.[27] They held that all of the changes mentioned above constituted "progress" in education and fostered the growth of professionalism itself. If anything, they were concerned that these changes were not occurring as rapidly as they should, and their reports warned of the possibility of backsliding by legislatures and state education officials in periods when teachers were in short supply.

One such period was during and immediately following World War I, which saw a serious exodus from the teaching ranks, mostly by women moving into other occupations to take the place of men who had gone into the armed forces. The shortage affected urban school systems as much as rural, and they were forced to hire undertrained people. After the war, successful campaigns were mounted in a number of cities to raise teacher salaries. According to Kathryn Cook of the U.S. Bureau of Education, between 1921 and 1927 the shortage turned into a slight surplus and there was "unusual and satisfactory progress in raising the standards of qualifications demanded of prospective teachers," because the attention of the public was focused on the issues of teachers' salaries and qualifications as never before. Cook may well have exaggerated the role of public awareness in this, as her own data showed that the raising of standards as she defined them also occurred during the shortage, between 1915 and 1921. In any case, this advance in requirements coincided with expansion of the numbers of collegiate level places for teacher training.[28]

State control

In reporting "progress" toward state control of teacher certification, federal staffers sorted states into five categories, as shown in Table 1.

From a national perspective, there appears to have been a simplifying and centralizing of the certification process. At the same time, however, there was an almost bewildering increase in the number and specificity of the teaching credentials being issued. Yet this contradiction is only apparent, as both trends were clearly in the interests of the education trust: state control, because it was far easier to press for changes in certification standards with a single agency, specialized credentials because they gave legal sanction to the multiple degree programs that universities were developing. Recall also that the details of state teacher licensing were gradually being entrusted to offices within state departments of education that were staffed by the graduates of these same programs.

From normal schools to teachers colleges

An equally dramatic development during the first third of the century was what David Labaree describes as institutional upward mobility of the normal schools into teachers colleges.[7] In 1900, no more than four normal schools were collegiate institutions (i.e. requiring high school graduation for entrance and granting bachelor's degrees). By 1930, there were nearly 150. This development was made possible, even necessary, by the increase in high school enrollments over the same period, from about 630,000 in 1900 to over 4.7 million in 1930. High school expansion had three effects. It made high school completion a reasonable requirement for normal-school entrance; it relieved the normal schools of providing elementary or high school level instruction; and it impelled them to move into the area of training high school teachers at a time when universities had pushed the standard for certification for high school teaching toward the bachelor's degree level.

The normal schools were keenly aware of being in a competitive struggle with colleges and universities—for students, for the legal right to grant bachelor's and graduate degrees, and for the inside track in training teachers for the burgeoning high schools. The manifesto for this competition was a *Statement of Policy for the Normal Schools* issued by the National Education Association (NEA) in 1908, including resolutions calling for normal schools to be considered "the

Table 1: Type and Number of State Systems of Teacher Certification, 1898-1937

	1898	1911	1921	1926	1937
State systems (state issues all certificates)	3	15	26	36	41
State-controlled systems (state sets rules, conducts exams, county issues some certificates)	1	2	7	4	3
Semi-state systems (state sets rules, writes questions, county grades papers, issues certificates)	17	18	10	5	1
State-county systems (both issue certificates, county controls some certificates)	18	7	3	2	2
State-local system (full control by town committees)	2	2	2	2	1

(Source: Benjamin Frazier, *Development of state programs for the certification of teachers*, U.S. Office of Education, 1938)

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state's chief agent" for the training of teachers and warning that the universities should not dominate the high schools by trying to make them college preparatory institutions instead of serving as "the best expression of the whole people."[16] This competition was most keenly joined in the Midwest, as most eastern normals had already ceded the training of high school teachers to the universities. Unable to convince their legislatures to restrict such training to the universities, Midwest university faculty used the high school accreditation standards of the North Central Association to set college graduation as the standard for high school teachers. This forced the normal schools to transform themselves into collegiate institutions and to standardize their programs.

> The normal schools were keenly aware of being in a competitive struggle with colleges and universities for the inside track in training teachers for the burgeoning high schools.

Schools and colleges of education

The struggle between normal schools and universities occurred as the nineteenth century "chairs of pedagogy" were being expanded into schools of education and these schools in turn were expanding their programs and degrees. In 1890, 114 of the roughly 400 colleges and universities in the country offered courses specifically for teachers, but only about a dozen had collegiate-grade departments of education, many of them one-person departments. By 1933, directories listed over 100 colleges or schools of education, the vast majority of them offering graduate degrees. The number of different courses offered had grown from less than forty to several hundred.

Despite this competition between teachers colleges and other colleges and universities, they were united in supporting three other trends in teacher certification: the increase in formal training requirements, the decline in the use of examinations for certification, and the proliferation of certificates and specialties. They were also united in opposing any increase in the control of teacher education programs by state legislation, though this was on the rise throughout the period. On the question of the value of a college degree and/or professional training, the states presented a very mixed picture. Some continued the nineteenth century practice of granting a life certificate to any graduate of the state university, regardless of major; others issued life certificates only to those graduates who had taken some professional education courses. In an increasing number of states, credit hours and courses were actually specified in the law, even though the administrative progressives opposed this practice. Overall, the trend was sharply toward increased formal education requirements to enter teaching.

Increase in formal training requirements

The formal requirements for initial teacher certification, as expressed in state law, had several components. One was the minimal amount of prior schooling. As late as 1921, 30 states still had no definite prior schooling requirement for the initial certificate. By 1930, this was down to 12 states, while 31 required at least high school graduation and some professional training. The Great Depression did not slow this trend, since an "oversupply" of teachers permitted many states to continue to raise this requirement. By 1937, five states required for their initial certificate four years of college, eight required three years of college or normal school, 11 required two years of

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college or normal school, including some professional courses, eight states required one year and two states required high school graduation and some professional preparation. Of the remaining 14 states, six required high school graduation, not professional training, and eight had no definite requirement of formal education. Teachers actually had higher educational attainments than these requirements suggest, however. In 1930-31, almost three-fourths of elementary teachers had two years of college or more while 60 percent of junior high teachers and 87 percent of high school teachers had at least four years of college.[31]

Some legislatures specified the required amounts of professional training and student teaching in credit hours or clock hours. In 1938, all states required some professional training for one or more of the certificates they offered, with the average being about 12 credit hours for the elementary certificate. More than half the states placed specific requirements into statute, but Frazier says that already this practice was declining in favor of delegating the authority to set regulations to the State Board of Education.[32] Numerous studies were done about the frequency of offerings or enrollments in various courses of professional training programs.[33] For elementary teachers, "the most frequent among a wide variety of professional courses required were: elementary school methods, educational measurements, history of education, educational psychology, classroom management, organization and management of elementary schools, principles of education, and the elementary school curriculum." For high school teachers, the required or recommended professional courses were educational psychology, student teaching, principles of teaching, history of education, special methods, and administration and organization.[34] By this time, the first five of these had become the five basic components of teacher preparation and they have shown enormous staying power to this day, both being influenced by and influencing certification rules or legislation. Of course, the specifying of particular courses had strong implications for the internal politics of schools of education, since no school that trained teachers could afford to ignore these requirements or fail to provide the faculty resources to meet them.

> Teachers colleges and other colleges and universities were united in supporting the increase in formal training requirements.

By the 1930s, states had also begun to specify the amount of liberal or cultural education required for elementary teaching. In 1933, 12 states had such provisions. Only Indiana prescribed the distribution of specific subjects. Requirements in specific subjects were more often specified for secondary certificates, but as late as 1930, 27 states had no academic requirements for the highest grade of high school certificate other than graduation from a recognized college. Sixteen states also required the completion of majors and minors, defined in law as specific numbers of hours of work. Then as now, much concern was expressed by those who studied teachers and certification over the number of secondary teachers working outside their majors or minors. One study in 1933-34 reported that only 29.74 percent of all high school teachers in Kansas were teaching in their major, and in the smaller schools, the figure was only about 6 percent.[35]

Decline of certification by examination

In 1919, Vermont became the first state to abandon the examination and offer certificates solely on the basis of professional

training. In contrast, at this time Connecticut required an examination for all of its certificates. By 1937, while all states issued at least one credential on the basis of institutional credits only, 28 states had eliminated examinations altogether and relied solely on professional training for certification. Only 20 states continued to use examinations. The actual number of certificates issued on the basis of examinations had actually declined faster than these numbers indicate. The professional education establishment was uniformly opposed to certification examinations. They continued to vilify them as a "back door" into teaching through which people with inferior training and talents "infiltrated" the profession. This was, of course, also a theme of their long-standing hostility to rural schooling.

But just as they failed to wipe out the country schools, they were also less successful than they wished in eliminating the examination route to initial certification. States with large rural populations continued to use the examination method for issuing elementary certificates to rural teachers.[17] What the education professionals managed to do instead was to get increases in the amount of formal schooling required as a prerequisite to taking the certification examinations. This was acceptable to supporters of rural schools because the average educational attainment of the population was rising fast enough to sustain these increases without producing shortages. Furthermore, many states began to phase in tougher requirements, setting future dates by which they became effective. This provided time for aspiring teachers to meet the new norms and avoided shortages. But a further reason for the decline of examinations was simply that they were becoming complex and difficult to administer. As the curriculum expanded, particularly in secondary schools, the number of subjects included in these examinations rose as well. In some places, candidates using the examination route were examined in as many as 13 subjects, and the "class" or duration of validity of the certificate was based on these test scores.[18]

> The professional education establishment vilified certification examinations as a back door into teaching through which people with inferior training and talents infiltrated the profession.

The multiplication of certificates

Another trend that reflected the power in state politics of the educational trust was the increase in the differentiation of certificates to sanctify the specializations that were growing in the education schools and teachers colleges. Not surprisingly, the earliest differentiation to emerge clearly was between elementary and high school teaching. From the present vantage point, it seems astounding that certificates were once issued that permitted their holders to teach in any school at any level, sometimes for life. But during the Progressive period, proliferation of special certificates occurred along several paths. One was with respect to school levels. Following the differentiation between elementary and high school teaching, states began to issue special certificates for kindergarten, evening school, junior high, and junior college teaching. Special certificates for administrative or supervisory positions, often requiring graduate study, became common, and later these were also differentiated with respect to school level.

Among high school certificates, there was subject area differentiation, but it was the newer, vocationally-oriented subjects that were first recognized. States required special training in such areas as industrial arts, agriculture, home economics, music, art, and

physical education well before they recognized academic specializations such as English, math, or science. One reason for this is related to the "rural school problem." A very large share of the nation's high schools were three-teacher high schools, and those who taught in such schools were expected to offer several subjects each.[19] By 1921, virtually all states were issuing special licenses for teachers of the specialized subjects, partly because this was a requirement to receive federal funds from the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. Usually, training requirements were higher for each new specialized certificate, but in some states they were based on subject-specific examinations, with or without prerequisite training. By 1927, specialization in some states had extended to include those teaching classes for atypical children, adult education, classes for the blind, school nurses, school librarians and, in the case of Rhode Island, a professorial certificate.

Because there was no common terminology between states in the naming of certificates, federal data compilers had difficulty determining the total number of truly different certificates issued across the nation, but a simple total of different titles issued by the states in 1921 was 715, with New Jersey and Indiana leading the way with 30 different certificates apiece. By the early 1930s, careful comparisons of the different certificates issued in the states estimated the total to be nearly 600 with the number issued by individual states ranging from three to 55, and averaging 20.[20]

Members of the education trust used state law to impose a system of teacher certification that denied local communities the ability to set their own standards and determine who should teach in their schools.

Summary

In the first half of the twentieth century, the education profession achieved many objectives that it had been unable to achieve in the nineteenth. Members of the education trust successfully used state law to impose a hierarchical, bureaucratic organizational model of education on the nation's public schools. One element of this model was a system of teacher certification that denied local communities the ability to set their own standards and determine who should teach in their schools. At the same time, this model empowered state departments of education to establish standards for initial teacher certification and to rely on formal teacher training programs to supply the candidates for these licenses. These professional educators were more successful than their nineteenth century counterparts because they were far better organized, were able to use the university professional schools as a base of operations, formed coalitions with business and professional elites, and successfully projected an image of being "above" politics (i.e., appearing to represent the public interest). Yet they were more successful in some states than others. They were least effective in agrarian states because they could offer no effective solutions to the problems of rural schools and because legislators and voters in these states strongly supported retaining the power of local schools. These states generally rebuffed efforts by professional educators to eliminate small local school districts and control the supply of teachers.

The War and Post-war Years

World War II and the immediate post-war years witnessed the most severe crisis in teacher supply and demand that the nation had ever experienced, and all schools, not just rural schools, were affected. Teachers' salaries could not compete with the high wages being paid in jobs related more closely to the war effort and patriotism also pulled many away from their classrooms. Benjamin Frazier, the U.S. Office of Education's senior specialist in teacher education, watched with alarm as the number of emergency certificates issued by states rose from 2,305 in 1940-41 to 69,423 in 1943-44.[40] By war's end, the number holding emergency certificates in the nation's schools was estimated to be 108,932, about the same as the number of new teachers hired annually in normal times. Frazier feared that there would be rollbacks in certification requirements that had been won over the years from the state legislatures. By 1946, however, he reported that, despite some added flexibility in the administration of certification programs, no significant rollbacks in requirements for certification had occurred, and he confidently predicted that when the shortage eased after the war, the march toward higher standards would resume.[41] In this prediction, he was only partly correct. The shortage continued well into the 1950s and emergency certificates were still being issued in the 1960s, but the push for higher standards did resume notwithstanding the shortage. Furthermore, the period saw significant shifts in power relationships within the professional education establishment, with classroom teachers making a bid to become major players in the determination of policy for both teacher education and certification.

> In the post-war years, classroom teachers made a bid to become major players in the determination of policy for teacher education and certification.

Between 1946 and 1953, 23 states increased their formal training requirements for the initial elementary certificate, 17 of them more than once. The standard was rapidly becoming a minimum of a four-year college degree for elementary teaching, with 25 states now requiring this, compared to only nine in 1940. Eleven states also raised the requirement for high school certification, with five states requiring five years of college and another 40 requiring at least four. Other trends also continued, such as increasing authority of state boards of education over certification rules and procedures and the disappearance of examinations. Between 1946 and 1953, six states discontinued local issuance, leaving only three states, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Missouri sharing issuing authority with local officials, and a total of 12 states still authorizing cities and/or certain colleges and universities to issue certificates, usually because their requirements were higher than the state's. While seven states still issued some credentials on the basis of examination, only Missouri, North Dakota, and Texas did so without prerequisite formal training, continuing to use the examination alone as a method for qualifying teachers for the rural schools. The remaining four states used examinations only for special qualifications or as a selective device.[42]

The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards

Arguably, the most important force

promoting these and other changes in teacher certification standards in the postwar years was an organization created by the NEA in 1946 called the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (TEPS). To grasp the meaning and purposes of this agency we must understand it first as promoting a new set of power relationships within the teaching profession. Throughout the previous four decades, as we have seen, the dominant voice of the profession had been the faculty of colleges of education. They were supported and joined by school administrators, faculty of the former normal schools, state department employees, and the staff of the U.S. Office of Education, all of whom became known as members of the educational trust. During the Progressive era, this educational establishment, while tremendously effective in reshaping the governance of education including the certification of teachers, had become more and more removed from the everyday world of the classroom teacher.[43] Of course, teachers continued to be included in the invocation of the idea of a profession of education, and the education school faculty often acted as if they "spoke" for the classroom teacher.

During the Progressive era, the educational establishment had become more and more removed from the everyday world of the classroom teacher.

At the end of World War II, the American teacher corps was grossly overworked, underpaid, and demoralized. From their perspective, while the profession of education might have gained in power and prestige over the previous half-century, the benefits had not trickled down to them. They sensed no improvement in the status of the classroom teacher and saw no signs that teaching was about to be treated as a full-scale profession. The creation of TEPS, with a permanent staff and budget and strong support from the NEA's department of classroom teachers, was part of an effort to create an independent voice for the classroom teacher and was intended to challenge the hegemony of the education trust and particularly the education school faculty over teacher education and certification. TEPS was to spearhead what it referred to as the "professional standards movement" to establish for teaching the same "control of entry" that other professions enjoyed. At the same time, the idea was to give classroom teachers a more prominent voice in all aspects of professional training.

In 1946, TEPS held the first of a series of national conferences on various aspects of teacher education, including several that dealt with certification issues. The TEPS conferences acknowledged that a primary purpose of certification was to protect the public from incompetent teachers, but they asserted that an equally important purpose was to protect the members of the profession from unfair competition from untrained people, a theme that made considerable sense at a time when emergency certificates were being issued by the tens of thousands. While these conferences were billed as broadening the conversation over teacher education and licensing issues—the term "democratizing" was frequently used to describe the power shift—in practice this meant bringing the criticism of classroom teachers to bear on the faculty and administrators of teachers colleges, as well as state-level education staffers.

Expanding the power of teachers

The change model adopted by TEPS was one in which national conferences on a specific theme, followed by as many as a dozen regional conferences, would hammer out specific proposals, policies, and pronouncements. These would be translated into action projects to be carried forth by a

network of state TEPS Councils and/or NEA affiliates. By 1961, it was reported that there were affiliates of TEPS in every state. These organizations were instrumental in pushing states to adopt the bachelor's degree as the minimal qualification for elementary teachers and trying to achieve a five-year standard for high school teachers and the elimination of the certification exam. As these objectives were nearly realized, TEPS and its affiliates pushed for more subtle changes in certification having as much to do with who would exercise power as with raising standards. For example, an important objective was to convince state legislatures to delegate full authority over certification requirements and procedures to state departments of education, then, to induce state boards of education to create advisory councils, to assist the state certification officers. By 1960, all but six states had adopted some type of advisory council. In five states, the TEPS commission served in this capacity, in nine states the councils were created by law and in the remainder they were voluntary. In every case, these advisory councils were more broadly representative of the various elements of the teaching profession than previous bodies such as the deans of education schools and normal schools. In some cases, they also included representatives of the general public."

> "The teacher education system of the United States ... is a hodgepodge of programs which are in the main a travesty upon professional education."

Another important agenda item for TEPS was the "approved program" approach to state oversight of teacher education programs. For many years, state departments or boards of education had been given the authority to determine various elements of teacher education programs, including specific courses and hours, and to grant or withhold certification of individual applicants on the basis of whether these detailed standards had been met. This came to be known as the "courses and hours" approach.

By the 1950s, the "approved program" approach was taking hold across the country. The state department would approve the teacher training institution, leaving the details to the faculty to determine. The certification of individual applicants was granted on the basis of their completion of an approved program, designed by the institution, and the recommendation of that institution, very much a "rubber-stamp" procedure. Only in cases of applicants from out-of-state were transcripts scrutinized for whether they met state minimal "courses and hours" standards. While this practice placed control of teacher education programs in the hands of education faculty, it also made state-to state reciprocity, another TEPS priority, more difficult. For TEPS and its affiliates, the answer to both problems—excessive control of teacher training by faculties of education and barriers to mobility created by ineffective reciprocity agreements—lay in the creation of a new agency, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE).

NCATE

From the beginning, TEPS leaders were extremely critical of teacher training as practiced in the universities and former normal schools. In his keynote address to the regional conferences in 1950, Ralph MacDonald, the first Executive Secretary of TEPS, referred to the "deterioration of teaching" and identified its underlying cause as the "low standards of preparation and of admission to teaching."

> The teacher education system of the United States, with the exception of a very few states, is a hodgepodge of programs which are in the main a travesty upon professional education. . . . We even provide a better-planned and better-financed system of professional education for those who raise pigs than we do for those who teach children.[46]

MacDonald estimated that of the 1,200 teacher training programs recognized by the states, no more than 300 "could stand up under a valid set of criteria as institutions which are equipped in philosophy, faculty, facilities, and curriculum for the professional preparation of teachers."[47]

> Educationists tried to label critics as "vestigial elitists," "congenital reactionaries" or simply, "enemies of the public schools."

The creation of NCATE occurred in two stages, each of which broadened the base of those in a position to influence teacher education. In 1948, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) was formed from a merger of three organizations.[48] In 1952, AACTE, TEPS, and the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification (NASDTEC) cooperated in forming NCATE, to assume responsibility for the accrecitation of programs. The original governing body, established in 1952, gave "equal allotment to the three major interests—the practitioners in the lower schools, as represented by the NEA...; the preparing schools, as represented by the AACTE...; and the state education legal authorities...."[49] This makeup placed classroom teachers in a much stronger position to influence teacher preparation programs, and many faculties of education, particularly in liberal arts colleges, resisted NCATE as an encroachment on their prerogatives. By 1954, after the first of what would amount to four reorganizations to reduce the influence of practitioners, the NCATE governing body was a 19 member council consisting of seven collegiate appointments by the AACTE, six representatives of the teaching profession at large nominated by TEPS and approved by the Executive Committee of the NEA (mainly classroom teachers), three collegiate members (liberal arts faculty) appointed by the National Board on Accreditation, and one representative each from NASDTEC, the Council of Chief State School Officers, and the National School Boards Association.

The promise of NCATE was to lift the standards of teacher education programs to a higher common denominator, eventually to remove the program approval process from state departments and lodge it with a national body that could be controlled more readily by the educationists themselves, and to become the basis for a truly nationwide system of reciprocity in teacher certification. By 1959, 17 states had adopted some provision for recognizing NCATE accreditation in their reciprocity procedures. But the actual process of accrediting programs proceeded at a snail's pace. In 1954, NCATE accepted 284 institutions previously visited by AACTE and by 1961, they had added only 68 institutions for a total of 342 out of the more than 1100 teacher education programs in the country. The rate of increase was only about 12 or 13 per year.[50] Between 1954 and the mid-1970s, the makeup of the NCATE Board was reconstituted several times, each time reducing the influence of classroom teachers.

Educationists vs. critics of American education

The gains made by the professional standards movement of the 1950s are even

more remarkable when placed against the fact that the decade was one of intense criticism of American education.[51] Not only did these critics attack the quality of the education system and the values that had shaped it, they also attacked the system of control which educationists had managed to put in place over the previous half century, using such terms as the "interlocking directorate" and the "educational establishment" to signify what Mortimer Smith called "a cohesive body of believers with a clearly formulated set of dogmas and doctrines."[52] But in casting education as a unified profession, the critics seemed ignorant of the internal power struggle being waged among various elements of the "establishment."

Historians have tended to take the view that these critics were largely marginalized and made ineffective by the very united front of all elements of the teaching profession that they were trying to call attention to. And indeed some of the critics were dismissed as red-baiters and ultra-right wing conspiracy theorists, others as oversensationalizing journalists. But serious scholars such as Arthur Bestor, Robert Maynard Hutchins, and Paul Woodring could not be dismissed so easily. As educationists began to fear that a genuine counter-revolution might be in the offing, they tried to label these critics as "vestigial elitists," "congenital reactionaries" or simply, "enemies of the public schools." During the early phase of this controversy, the general public seemed to regard it as mere sound and fury. With the Russian launching of Sputnik in 1957, however, the school quality debate was transformed into a debate on national security that took on considerably more urgency. According to many critics, the hegemony of professional educators over virtually all aspects of the educational system had led to a loss of seriousness of purpose in American public schools. Particularly responsive to the type of criticism associated with Hutchins and Bestor were academics in university departments who, over the years, had been squeezed out of having any influence on the school curriculum and on teacher education. Suddenly, with Sputnik, their sense of being marginalized received a public hearing and the fundamental clash of values between professional schools of education and liberal arts departments came to the forefront.

> At TEPS conferences, speakers noted a lack of scientific backing for what had become the "essential" elements of teacher education programs.

Classroom teachers aligned with liberal arts departments

Ironically, the classroom teachers, attempting to gain more control over professional entry through TEPS, were able to use these critics to their advantage. In 1958, at the height of the national debate, the leadership of TEPS decided to hold a different kind of national conference. They once again "broadened the conversation" by inviting a large number of organizations representing academic disciplines to cosponsor and send delegates to three national conferences following on the heels of Sputnik.[53] The purpose of these conferences on "the education of teachers" was to provide a forum for liberal arts faculty to air their grievances "inside the house" and they were "aimed at getting the warring segments of American education to sit down together and talk sense about how our teachers should be prepared."[54] As G.K. Hodenfield, education writer for the Associated Press, put it, "It was like asking the Hatfields and the McCoys to sit down for Sunday dinner—or like asking the Republicans and Democrats to hold a joint convention."[55] If education faculty were

made uncomfortable and placed on the defensive at these conferences, the classroom teacher delegates were all the more eager to second the criticisms.

By the time of these conferences, the criticisms had become standardized into a litany: low standards of admission to and exit from teacher education programs, too many "mickey mouse" courses, overemphasis on professional education courses in relation to academic or liberal arts courses, "educationist" control of state departments of education and the certification function, the field of education lacking a distinct "disciplinary" base, the weakness of the doctorate in education and the commensurate intellectual weakness of the education faculty, and perhaps most important of all, the absence of reliable scientific evidence that any component of the teacher education programs has a predictable relationship to effective classroom teaching. Given the education trust's pretensions to scientific authority for the reforms of the first half century, it was indeed surprising how often at these TEPS conferences speakers noted a lack of scientific backing for what had become the "essential" elements of teacher education programs.

It is not clear that much came of the effort to bring "subject" matter faculty into conversations about teacher education, though the conferences were said to have opened "channels of communication" hitherto closed, increased understanding of the nature and scope of teacher education, and created "new cooperative machinery" on many campuses. This generally took the form of creating, or in some cases reviving, campus-wide committees to review proposals for change in the teacher education curriculum, as well as the general education and major and minor subject requirements. Committees of this type were common and active in the 1960s but atrophied in the 1970s. The state affiliates of NEA or TEPS, following these conferences, were more likely to include liberal arts faculty representation in their proposals for state teacher education advisory committees. Whether as a result of these conferences or simply as an outcome of the "Great Debate" over education in this era, many states strengthened the academic requirements for the granting of initial teaching certificates during the 1950s and early 1960s.

> Educators were outraged by the conclusion that the only portion of professional education that was clearly necessary was a high quality student teaching experience.

Criticism from liberal arts faculty

If the TEPS efforts at outreach to liberal arts critics of teacher education had, at best, modest success, it is clear that criticism from this quarter continued into the 1960s, as illustrated by two books in particular, *The Miseducation of American Teachers*, by James Koerner and *The Education of American Teachers* by James B. Conant, both published in 1963. These books were framed against the arguments that had been raging between education faculty and liberal arts and science faculty for nearly a decade and both purported to be based on serious study of the issues, including many interviews and analyses of data. As their titles suggest, Koerner's book was the more unfailing in taking the side of the academic faculty in this dispute and in bashing the teacher educators. Yet it was Conant's book that was more disappointing to educators and more radical in its proposal for reform. The reason it was disappointing had to do with what the profession had come to expect from his previous work. In 1959, at the climax of a national debate over the American high school curriculum in which

some critics were pushing to scrap the comprehensive high school in favor of a European-style system of elective secondary schools, Conant's *The American High School Today* had reaffirmed the soundness of the nation's basic approach to providing secondary schooling to a mass population and had called for very modest reforms of the system.[56]

In *The Education of American Teachers*, Conant did dismiss many of the criticisms of teacher education and was highly critical of academic faculty for their lack of attentiveness to the question of how their subject teaching might be made more effective as part of a program to train teachers. However, educators were outraged by his conclusion that the only portion of professional education that was clearly necessary was a high quality student teaching experience. "For certification purposes," Conant wrote,

> the state should require only (a) that a candidate hold a baccalaureate degree from a legitimate college or university, (b) that he submit evidence of having successfully performed as a student teacher under the direction of college and public school personnel in whom the state department has confidence,...and...that he hold a specially endorsed teaching certificate from a college or university which, in issuing the official document, attests that the institution as a whole considers the person adequately prepared to teach in a designated field and grade level.[57]

In the storm of critical articles which followed, teacher educators made clear that they did not want to share as much of the control of teacher education with academic faculty as this implied, did not want to make public school personnel equal partners in the training of teachers, and did not want to give up the institutional supports for specific components of professional education that the "approved program" approach was providing.[58]

> The TEPS report argued that the profession should have complete autonomy with respect to the education, licensing, and conduct of its members.

A number of other themes that emerged in the long series of TEPS conferences and activities have echoed again in the 1980s and 1990s. For example, one was the idea of differentiating the occupation of teaching, creating such clearly differentiated (and compensated) roles as interns, members of specialized teams, and master or supervisory teachers.[59] Other themes were the notion of extending formal training to a fifth year, the need to create routes into teaching as alternatives to standard teacher training, the need to bring teacher education into closer relation to the practical world of the career teacher, to focus training more closely on the "competences" of effective teachers, and to involve teachers more closely in the design of programs.[60]

In the final analysis, however, TEPS was mainly about the issue of the control of entry to the profession, and from this perspective, the high point of the professional standards movement was the report of the Project on New Horizons in Teacher Education and Professional Standards.[61] The purpose of the Project was to review the aspirations and accomplishments of TEPS over the previous decade and, looking toward the future, to "develop definitive statements . . . that would serve as guidelines for action programs . . . toward the complete professionalization of teaching."[62] The Project was organized around five committees and five themes: professional standards, pre- and in-service

teacher education, accreditation of teacher education institutions, certification, and identification, selection, and retention in teacher education. Though the report contained dozens of basic principles, policy statements and recommendations, the overall theme was simple and clear: the profession should have complete autonomy with respect to the education, licensing, and conduct of its members.[63]

> The profession, itself, if it is to be accountable for its own, must be responsible for accreditation of preparatory programs and certification of professional personnel.
> *It is recommended that every state legislature establish a professional standards board of seven to eleven members as an adjunct to the office of the chief state school officer, but charged with responsibility for accreditation and co-ordination of teacher education programs and certification of professional personnel.*[64]

This concept of a professional standards board went well beyond the notion of state advisory committees that had been promoted by TEPS for years, both in the degree of dominance by members of the profession (total) and by the scope of control over entry into teaching which these boards were to wield (total). Was the profession successful in establishing such boards, or even the more modest advisory councils advocated in the 1950s? Let us consider the case of California.

Winning and losing in California[65]

Between the professional standards movement to gain greater control of entry, on the one hand, and the attacks by critics of the teacher education curriculum and the national anxiety attack over Sputnik, on the other, considerable pressure came to bear on the certification offices of state departments of education. In the 1950s, no fewer than two-thirds of the states undertook comprehensive reviews of their teacher-certification system.[66] In some, this was motivated by the critics' charge that too much time was being devoted to professional-education courses, and too little was required in basic academic subjects. In other states, where educationists were better organized, the triggering issue was the perceived need to reduce the number of credentials and increase the autonomy of teacher education institutions with respect to their curricula. But whoever had the initiative, the outcome was never a complete victory for the teaching profession. California's review process began in 1954, lasted for a decade, and went through four phases.

In the 1950s, no fewer than two-thirds of the states undertook comprehensive reviews of their teacher-certification system.

At the time, California's certification system had several features that were strongly favored by the education profession. It had adopted the fifth-year requirement for the secondary school credential, the first state to do so (in 1905). It was an early state to require four years of college for the initial elementary certificate (1930). It issued a "blanket" certificate for secondary teaching, without subject area endorsements on the certificate, leaving enforcement of regulations regarding subject qualifications up to local administrators and accrediting agencies. It had extended its certification system to cover junior college teachers. It utilized an "approved program approach" to the actual issuance of certificates to in-state candidates.[67] There was a state advisory council, called the California Council on

Teacher Education, dominated by professionals, but also including some public members. Still, California issued 57 different specialized credentials, including some for non-professional school staff, a practice that had once been favored by professional educators but now was thought to limit the professional discretion of supervisors and administrators. In fact, it was the "multiplicity of credentials" that served as the chief motivation for credential system revision.

Revising the credentialing system

The initiative was taken by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who requested that a committee of the California Council on Teacher Education (CCTA) undertake a study of the credentialing structure with particular emphasis on how the number of credentials could be reduced while retaining the specialized programs that were deemed necessary. This Committee on the Revision of the Credential Structure in California (dubbed Committee A) verified that excessive specialization was indeed a problem and traced it to the fact that the certification system was attempting to do too much. Specifically, the system was attempting to control professional assignments through certification, and to control quality by specifying the nature of preparation, but was unable to limit itself to those positions calling for professional preparation. According to Committee A, the purpose of certification should be to verify that the candidate has been selected by an approved professional institution and prepared for the profession in that institution. On its face, this was a bid for greater control of entry by the profession than existed in any state at the time. The Committee's work went through a series of iterations but its analysis of the problem and its proposal for a much more limited approach to certification survived its Final Report of June, 1957. Committee A also proposed that the 57 extant credentials be replaced by just four: a general teaching credential, a vocational teaching credential, a pupil-personnel credential and an administration-supervision credential. It said that all responsibility for staff assignment should be left to the local administrator.

No organized opposition developed against the idea that major responsibility for the design of preparatory programs should be left to the preparing institutions themselves.

Committee A generated such general and lively interest that it was decided to have a series of regional meetings in the spring of 1958 for discussion, criticism, and revisions of its report. The President of the CCTA appointed a new committee, the Committee on Credential Revision (Committee B), to clarify the proposals to be presented at regional meetings and to draft whatever revisions seemed desirable. Some of Committee A's proposals met with opposition. Non-professional school personnel were afraid that they would lose retirement and fringe benefits that were tied into the credential structure. Subject-matter teachers in metropolitan areas and the California Federation of Teachers opposed placing staff assignment in the hands of local administrators. But according to Lucien Kinney, a Stanford professor of mathematics education who was both a participant in and commentator on these events, no organized opposition developed against the idea that major responsibility for the design of preparatory programs should be left to the preparing institutions themselves. Two proposals developed by Committee B went forward: that the four credentials be reduced

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to three by combining the general and vocational teaching credential and that five years of preparation be required for both elementary and secondary teachers.

A civil service approach

Judging that consensus on the major questions had yet to be reached, the Superintendent of Public Instruction appointed an in-house committee of the State Department of Education to revise the proposals to try to meet more of the objections that had surfaced in the regional meetings. This proposal, which differed in significant ways from those of Committees A and B, was circulated for comment at a series of meetings in 1958. The Department proposal was based on a rather different set of assumptions about certification, seeing it as an administrative device to regularize employment practices, what Kinney called a "civil-service" approach, rather than a process of professional licensure. Accordingly, it proposed five credentials, restoring the non-professional services credential and adding a designated subjects credential. Kinney described this proposal as "essentially a regrouping of the 57 credentials under the five major headings, using the device of endorsement of credentials to indicate specialization."[58] The Department proposal was presented to the State Board of Education, which approved both the principles and the structure after meeting with the chairman of the Joint Interim Commission of the Public Education System of the State Legislature. This proposal became the basis for Senate Bill 57, as introduced in 1961.

Though endorsed by the governor, the bill generated much controversy. Both the California Teachers Association and the California Federation of Teachers introduced bills more to their liking.[59] New features were introduced and old features modified. Kinney's assessment was that the legislation as passed was "relatively unrelated to previous proposals and recommendations."[60] The legislation retained five credentials, specified in detail with respect to authorization and preparation. A staff member of the State Department estimated that the new structure was the equivalent of 75 to 100 distinct credentials rather than the 57 in place in 1953. The idea of a fifth year of preparation for elementary teachers was included but with the provision that it could be completed within five years of initial employment. The number of college credits required in academic subjects was increased and the number in professional courses was reduced. Moreover, because eligibility for teaching assignments was defined by the legislation rather than being left to the discretion of administrators, local administrative authority was even more restricted than it had been in the 1953 structure. It seems evident that the California legislature was, at this time, far more responsive to the critics of the education establishment than to the aspirations for greater autonomy and control by the profession itself.

Eligibility for teaching assignments was defined by legislation rather than being left to the discretion of administrators.

It remained for the State Board of Education to work out the detailed rules and regulations for the state's administrative code. This would have the effect of rewriting the curricula of the state's teacher preparation programs. This process took two years and involved eight different committees. When the Final Report of the coordinating committee was submitted in the summer of 1962, it was immediately reworked by yet another committee of the State Department of Education to make the requirements even

more specific so as to facilitate their handling by clerical staff. After a two-day hearing, the State Board appointed yet one more committee from its own members to restudy and rework the requirements. The result was a slight reduction in professional education requirements and the dropping of some highly specialized requirements in the designated service credentials. The Final Report of the State Board, following a hearing, was adopted in May, 1963.

The teacher training institutions lost another battle during this same period. California was then developing the nation's largest system of junior colleges and it had included junior college teachers in its teacher certification system. This part of the post secondary system was still contested terrain, especially between the well organized K-12 classroom teachers and the academic department faculty of the state's universities and colleges. Under the auspices of several academic organizations, a bill was introduced in 1961 to eliminate the professional education component of the state's certification of junior college teachers and to make holding a masters or doctors degree sufficient for certification. In the struggle over the bill, it was modified so that junior college faculty could begin their teaching careers without the professional component, though they were required to complete it within a three-year period.

Setbacks for educationists

Armstrong and Stinnett's 1964 summary of the California certification revision highlighted the ways in which the outcomes ran counter to TEPS policy. They included the shift from "blanket" to "endorsed" certificates, the granting of all regular certificates for life (undercutting the NEA's efforts to control in-service education), the requirement of an academic major and minor on the part of elementary teachers and the definition of "academic" as the traditional liberal arts subjects (thus eliminating the education major), the reduction in hours of professional education required, the limiting of secondary teaching to the major and minor areas and increasing the hours required for each of these, and the reduction of the professional education and student-teaching requirements for junior college teachers. On the plus side for the educationists, education requirements were extended for such professional positions as counselor, principal, and superintendent, though this gain was tempered by the reduction of required professional education requirements for each of these, the requiring of an academic major, and the permitting of years of experience to substitute for one year of formal education.[71]

> By the late 1950s, the concept of professional control that TEPS and the state affiliates were promoting had been defeated.

A scorecard would show that, for the profession, the gains were slim and the losses great. Though the profession seemed in fairly firm control at the beginning of the process, by the late 1950s an aroused public, a better organized academic faculty, and political parties able to see the possibility of political gains in the teacher certification issues all led to a substantial defeat for the concept of professional control that TEPS and the state affiliates were then promoting.

The professional standards movement drowns in a sea of militancy

During the 1960s, whatever enthusiasm America's classroom teachers may have had for TEPS and its activities waned.[72] The professional standards movement became a casualty of the rising teacher militancy and aggressiveness that transformed the NEA by

decade's end. The election of a collective bargaining agent for New York City teachers in 1962, won handily by the United Federation of Teachers, and the subsequent strike sent a wake-up call to the NEA and its state affiliates that, without fundamental reform in both substantive policy and style, the larger organization could be swept aside by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and its allies in the labor unions. The AFL-CIO, losing membership in the late 1950s and facing a declining blue collar work force, vigorously turned to organizing white collar workers and, in particular, public employees. Teachers were a natural target.

For the previous fifteen years, teachers, through TEPS, had stressed professionalism as the basis for greater autonomy, independence and the right to control entry, drawing analogies to medicine and law. Though they tried to maintain this vocabulary, in fact, their aspirations for higher wages and better working conditions could best be pursued through the device of public employee bargaining laws and the associated concepts of career entry and job protection through civil service laws. Even this vocabulary shift was not enough to match the militancy of labor union rhetoric, and some demographic changes in the makeup of the teaching corps—more males, a younger average age—lent strength to the willingness of many teachers to accept the union model.[71]

While the NEA won its share of bargaining agent elections after 1962, capturing more than half of school districts, it lost the larger cities to the AFT, whose membership was growing at a considerably faster rate than the NEA. To remain competitive, the NEA adopted a series of policy changes, including severing its last ties to school administrators, since the laws held that administrators could not participate in the election of a collective bargaining agent for teachers. Throughout the decade, the conservative elements of the NEA, trying to preserve the professional aspirations of teaching and to protect it from union "raids," were able to maintain at least a linguistic distinction. While the AFT used the terms collective bargaining and strikes, the NEA spoke of professional negotiations and professional sanctions.[74] By the 1970s, however, even this distinction was abandoned and virtually the only element of difference between the "union approach" and the "professional approach" was the NEA's commitment to remain independent from affiliation with organized labor.[75]

> The NEA's adoption of collective bargaining and strikes as the tools to buttress the professional status of teachers probably had the opposite effect.

The significance of all this for teacher certification and education is not hard to discern. The administrative mechanisms that had been won by TEPS in the 1950s—advisory councils on which classroom teachers had a presence, TEPS representation on NCATE—remained in place, yet the increasingly militant tone of the teachers made it difficult for other elements of the profession, such as education school faculty and state department staffers, to maintain a united front with them. This is not to say that unionized classroom teachers lost all interest in questions of teacher education and certification or control of entry. Rather, they expected to attain their objectives through the new and more powerful tool of collective bargaining. Symbolizing this shift, the last national TEPS conference (1969) took as its theme, "negotiating for professionalization." Local bargaining teams attempted, sometimes successfully, to include in contracts minimal hiring standards, conditions under which teachers could accept student teachers, control over in-service training budgets,

criteria for layoffs that included both seniority and credentials, the conditions for teacher assignment, and other ideas that resulted in further alienation from education school faculties and local and state administrators.

Unified profession collapses

The NEA's adoption of collective bargaining and strikes as the tools to buttress the professional status of teachers probably had the opposite effect. It ended the "politics of consensus" (within the profession) that had been the professional standards movement's modus operandi for more than a decade. It sharpened fundamental differences in interests among the various elements of the profession, notably education professors, liberal arts professors, and practicing K-12 teachers, and encouraged each to seek its own interests independent of the others. Finally, it brought to the surface antagonisms between classroom teachers and administrators, as unionized teachers grew hostile to such ideas as differentiated staffing, administrator control of assignment, and professional standards boards, that had once been deemed staples of a true profession, largely because teachers no longer trusted administrators to judge them fairly and wanted no part of judging their fellow union members. By the 1970s, the notion of a unified profession, which had energized NEA's initiatives in teacher education and certification, and the concept of an education establishment, which had animated the critics, were both dead, made irrelevant by the shift of classroom teachers from a professional model to a union model.

This inattention to teacher preparation carried over into the initial calls for educational reform in the 1980s. Inspired in part by the dire warnings and powerful language of *A Nation at Risk*, in the early part of that decade the nation entered what has become one of the longest running periods of educational ferment in American history. In the flurry of activity that followed the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, major foundations, schools and colleges of education, state legislatures, and teachers unions recognized that any major efforts to improve the quality of American education needed a strong teacher preparation component.[6] The efforts by these groups would unleash new battles over the best way to ensure that the nation had an adequate supply of well educated teachers.

Summary

At mid-century, members of the educational trust, secure in their positions in major research universities, teachers colleges, state education departments, and big city superintendencies were still powerful figures in shaping virtually all policy decisions including those involving the preparation of teachers. Yet within two decades their power would be severely weakened, due to attacks against their influence over such issues, the ideas that animated its members' policy decisions, and the lack of attention the trust paid to practicing teachers. Notable among these attacks was the reassertion of a claim on teacher preparation by academics in the liberal arts. Decrying the anti-intellectualism that seemed to lie at the heart of many ideas put forth by the trust, these critics attracted enormous attention and widespread support. A second wave of criticism came from within the NEA, as classroom teachers demanded a larger role in decisions involving professionalism and preparation. Finally, political leaders resisted the demands of professional educators for greater control over teacher preparation and certification.

Although none of the attacks in the 1950s and early 1960s ended the influence of the educational establishment, they set the stage for the new politics of education that has emerged since 1975. By the mid-1970s, the claims of scientific authority that had bolstered the power of the trust had lost their

magic and were no longer able to assure Americans that all was well with their schools. It was no longer credible for the educational establishment to claim that its ideas were clearly aligned with the public interest or that its views represented all members of the profession. Adding to the educational trust's loss of authority was the rise to power of the AFT and NEA, with both groups demanding and winning seats at any discussion affecting the lives of teachers. These changes ushered in new power relationships that altered the nature of subsequent debates about teacher preparation and certification.

Epilogue

In the last decade of the twentieth century, discussions about reforming the preparation of teachers were shaped both by changing power relationships and by two important reports that appeared in 1986. These reports represented attempts by the profession to reform itself in ways that were responsive to public concerns about education. Prepared by the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession and the Holmes Group (which was composed of education deans of leading research universities), these reports called for eliminating undergraduate teacher education, requiring subject matter majors for all teacher candidates, and using masters degrees as "the new entry level credential" for the profession. These groups based their appeal on the belief that there was a well-established knowledge base for teaching and that the research universities, in which much of that knowledge was created, should take the lead in revitalizing teacher education. The Carnegie and Holmes groups also urged restructuring the profession by adding career ladders and new, higher levels of certification. Many of the ideas and analogies animating these reports were drawn from the medical model."

In some ways, these reports reflected the continuing effort of education professionals to gain greater influence over the licensing of teachers. But this campaign for greater influence is now occurring in a very different social and political context. Three factors that began in the 1970s have intensified over the last two decades and will have a powerful effect on how this campaign turns out. First, unlike the Progressive Era, when university based educationists dominated virtually all discussion of these issues, members of the education profession today are deeply divided. Currently, professors of education, professors of liberal arts, and practicing K-12 teachers (particularly unionized teachers) strenuously compete for power and influence. With these diverse groups all proclaiming different visions of how new teachers should be prepared, little consensus exists on the best way to improve teacher education. Second, the public and many political leaders have grown skeptical about the ability and commitment of education professionals, particularly those in colleges and universities, to deliver on their claims that, if left alone, they will produce large numbers of well-prepared teachers. Third, the professional model itself has become suspect. The very professions that educators seek to emulate, notably lawyers and physicians, have become targets for criticism based on fears that their interests conflict with those of the public. A skeptical public is less willing to give professional educators the benefit of the doubt about the effectiveness of current programs of teacher education. Simply asserting that greater expertise and

professionalism will lead to improved education will not work this time around. Education professionals seeking to reform teacher preparation will need to approach this process by recognizing the need to work closely with other important groups (e.g., parents, political, and community leaders) who do not necessarily share their vision of what constitutes crucial changes.

The return of the examination

Nowhere is this need clearer than in the revival of another trend discussed in this study, the efforts by state legislatures and school districts to use tests to determine whether teachers have mastered basic knowledge before they enter the classroom. Such testing has increased substantially in the past decade. In 1987-88, approximately 35 percent of public school districts required that applicants for teaching positions pass a state test of basic skills. By 1993-94, that percentage had climbed to just under one-half of all districts. In those same years, the percentage of districts requiring applicants to pass state tests of subject matter knowledge also rose from under a quarter to almost 40 percent.[78] As in the past, educators, now led by the NEA, have strongly opposed such testing.[79] Yet many states have fought off legal challenges to these examinations and continue to test aspiring teachers. Indeed, some states have moved beyond this policy to rate teacher training institutions by their graduates' pass rates.

> Simply asserting that greater expertise and professionalism will lead to improved education will not work this time around.

This conflict between advocates for greater professional control over entry to the field and supporters of public and legislative efforts to assess teacher quality underscores the point that, despite changing social and political contexts, the themes discussed in this study continue to structure debates about teacher preparation. At the heart of the conflict (which for much of American history was played out in the struggle between professional educators and the defenders of rural schools) is a deep difference in values. Proponents of professionalism see aspects of teaching in terms of universal values and ideas while supporters of greater public control seek to protect the distinctiveness of their local communities. As we move into a period that will be marked by a projected shortage of 2.2 million teachers, these themes of professionalism and accountability to the public will loom ever larger.

As the country looks for ways to address its teacher shortage, answers will be sought with greater urgency to the four questions that guided this study: 1) who should control the licensing of teachers? 2) what should be the basis for granting people a license to teach? 3) what should be the elements of a course of training for teachers and how much of each element should be required? and 4) how detailed, specific, and restrictive should a licensing system be?

As we have seen, the positions articulated by major players in this arena have changed only slightly in the last century. The Holmes Group and the Carnegie Task Force continue to push ideas long associated with the leading colleges of education, especially as they call for a stronger research base to guide teacher education programs. Advocates of alternative paths to certification that seek to bypass such programs often find support among academics in liberal arts departments who see mastery of subject matter as the one true basis for an education credential. Political leaders responding to public pressure continue to seek ways of assuring accountability from educators regardless of where their offices might be on a university campus. Classroom teachers continue to seek ways to ensure that

their practical wisdom gleaned from day-to-day experience gets equal weight in discussions of how future teachers should be educated.

These positions persist with such resilience in large part because they rest on legitimate ideas, values, and knowledge. Unfortunately, as this study has demonstrated, these positions are often at cross-purposes. The history of teacher preparation in America has been shaped largely by a temporary triumph of one position over others. For the twenty-first century, it would seem incumbent on supporters of these old and familiar positions to seek new, imaginative ways to define the problem of preparing teachers for our schools and to create innovative programs for supplying teachers who can ensure high quality education for all American children.

Notes

1. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, *Digest of education statistics, 1998* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1999), p. 79.

2. These ideas find their later counterparts in such common certification requirements as citizenship, the taking of a loyalty oath, and proof of good health. As late as 1938, two-thirds of the states had a requirement that candidates be of good moral character. Benjamin W. Frazier, *Development of state programs for the certification of teachers*, U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1938, no. 12 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 68-69. Today, we are likely to limit our concerns to criminal background checks or whether a candidate has a record of child or sexual abuse.

3. Village and town schools were an intermediate form exhibiting some features of each.

4. Wayne E. Fuller, *The old country school* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

5. Figures on the numbers of certificates issued under these two systems, where they existed side by side, show far more taking the county exams than the state exams. Perhaps the county exams were considerably easier. Perhaps few people wished to teach outside the range of their own resident county.

6. David Labaree, *How to succeed in school without really learning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

7. Katherine M. Cook, *State laws and regulations governing teachers' certificates*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1921, no. 22 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), p. 12.

8. Charles Athiel Harper, *A century of public teacher education: The story of the state teachers colleges as they evolved from the normal schools* (Washington, DC: American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1939), pp. 106-109.

9. The most effective organizations representing the embryonic education profession in the nineteenth century were the state educational associations in which classroom teachers made up the bulk of the membership and men connected with colleges, universities, and normal schools or administrators from large urban districts, took the leadership positions.

10. Fuller, *The old country school*.

11. Fuller, *The old country school*, p. 172.

12. Cook, *State laws and regulations governing teachers' certificates*, (1921), p. 11.

13. Robert H. Wiebe, *The search for order* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

14. David B. Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot, *Law and the shaping of public education, 1785-1954* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987).

15. Carl F. Kaestle, editor, *Joseph Lancaster and the monitorial school movement: A documentary history* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1973).

16. Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public education in the United States: A study and interpretation of American educational history* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), pp. 388-9.

17. Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public school administration* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929), pp. 454-55.

[18] Cook, *State laws and regulations governing teachers' certificates*, pp. 6-13.

[19] Geraldine J. Clifford and James W. Guthrie, *Ed school: A brief for professional education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

[20] David B. Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of virtue: Public school leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), p. 106.

[21] It is important to note that this model differed from the essentially independent, fee-taking system of organization developing in the other major professions. Perhaps there was no choice in the matter, but this difference set teaching down a path of development that guaranteed it would diverge from other professions in important respects and would have to resort to analogies to convince the public otherwise.

[22] Walter D. Burnham, "The changing shape of the American political universe," *American Political Science Review* 59 (1965), pp. 23, 25. Wiebe, *The search for order*.

[23] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the shaping of public education, 1785-1954*, p. 112.

[24] See, for example, Jeffrey Mirel, *The rise and fall of an urban school system: Detroit, 1907-81* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993).

[25] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the shaping of public education, 1785-1954*, p. 121-122.

[26] United States Commissioner of Education, "Legal provisions of various states relating to teachers' examinations and certificates," *Report for the Year, 1897-98* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899). William R. Jackson, "The present status of the certification of teachers in the United States," *Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education for the Year 1903* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1905). Harlan Updegraff, *Teachers' certificates issued under general state laws and regulations*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1911, No. 18 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911). Cook, *State laws and regulations governing teachers' certificates* (1921). Katherine M. Cook, *State laws and regulations governing teachers' certificates*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1928, no. 6 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1928). Benjamin W. Frazier, *Development of state programs for the certification of teachers*, U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1938, no. 12 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1938). Benjamin W. Frazier, *Summary of teacher certification requirements*, U.S. Office of Education, Circular No. 223 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, May 1946).

[27] Frazier's report of 1938 is particularly valuable in this regard, because in his discussion of the main trends, he presents the views of several "juries" made up of such professional educators as faculty or deans of education schools, big city superintendents, state department staffers, and state superintendents. There are few serious disagreements among these juries on what constitutes a good state certification system.

[28] Cook, *Professional preparation of teachers for rural schools*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1928, no. 6 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1928), pp. 1-2.

[29] Labaree, *How to succeed in school without really learning*, p. 144.

[30] Harper, *A century of public teacher education*, pp. 138-9.

[31] Frazier, *Development of state programs for the certification of teachers*.

[32] Frazier, *Development of state programs for the certification of teachers*, pp. 20, 62-63.

[37] See, for example, Benjamin J. Burris, "The problem of certification in relation to teacher training," American Association of Teacher Colleges, *Yearbook 1926* (1927), pp. 100-107. See also Calvin O. Davis, "The training and experience of the teachers in the high schools accredited by the North Central Association," *The School Review*, v. 30 (May 1922), pp. 335-54. Elbridge C. Grover, "The status of education as an academic subject in American colleges," *Educational Research Bulletin* (Ohio State University, January 1928), 7:12-15. R.W. Sites, "Recognition of college training in education in the state certification of teachers in the United States," *Pennsylvania School Journal* (January 1, 1914), pp. 228-38.

[38] Frazier, *Development of state programs for the certification of teachers*, pp. 62-65.

[39] Frazier, *Development of state programs for the certification of teachers*, p. 62.

[40] For a very long period of time, Massachusetts was an outlier on its system of teacher certification, holding on to the issuance of certificates by local authorities until the late 1950s. Though these local school committees were authorized to grant certificates on the basis of examinations, very few were issued on this basis. The common practice throughout the commonwealth was to issue only on the basis of graduation from one of the state normal schools.

[41] Katherine M. Cook, "Certification by examination—the open door to the teaching profession," *American School Board Journal* (July 1920) 61: 29-30, 119. Robert C. Woellner and M. Aurilla Wood, *Requirements for teaching certificates* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1935).

[42] The 1930-31 National Survey of the Education of Teachers reported that, among high school teachers about a third taught in only one field, a little more than half taught in two fields, and the remainder taught in three or more fields. When the figures are limited to subjects, rather than fields, the number of teachers teaching more than one subject was considerably higher. The relation of training to teaching assignment was actually a little better for junior high school teachers, since junior highs were more to be found in the cities and hence were larger schools on average.

[43] Frazier, *Development of state programs for the certification of teachers*, p. 49.

[44] Benjamin W. Frazier, *Relief of teacher shortages by state departments of education*, U.S. Office of Education, Circular No. 221 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943).

[45] Benjamin W. Frazier, *Summary of teacher certification requirements*, U.S. Office of Education, Circular No. 223 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, May 1946).

[46] Earl W. Armstrong and T.M. Stinnett, *A manual on certification requirements for school personnel in the United States* (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1953).

[47] Some of the more prestigious education schools had dropped their teacher training programs and become strictly graduate schools of education (Clifford and Guthrie, *Ed school: A brief for professional education*).

[48] Earl W. Armstrong and T.M. Stinnett, *A manual on certification requirements for school personnel in the United States* (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1961).

[49] National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (TEPS), *1946-1961, Journey to now: The first fifteen years of the professional standards movement in teaching as reflected in keynote addresses* (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1961), p. 29.

[46] National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *1946-1961, Journey to now*, pp. 34-35.

[47] National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *1946-1961, Journey to now*, p. 35.

[48] The organizations were the National Association of Colleges and Departments of Education, the National Association of Teacher Education Institutions in Metropolitan Districts, and the American Association of Teachers Colleges, a department of the NEA. National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *The education of teachers: Certification* (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1961), pp. 166-167.

[49] Timothy M. Stinnett and Geraldine E. Peshing, *A manual of certification requirements for school personnel in the United States* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 1970), p. 4.

[50] TEPS, *The education of teachers: Certification*.

[51] For a fuller account of these debates in the 1950s, see Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

[52] Mortimer Smith, *And madly teach* (New York: Henry Regnery, 1949), pp. 11-12.

[53] National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *The education of teachers: New perspectives* (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1958). National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *The education of teachers: Curriculum programs* (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1959). These three conferences were backed by a greatly expanded list of cosponsors, nine national associations representing membership from the subject fields and education and 60 national organizations representing single subject fields. It was sufficiently important that the Associated Press education writer, G.K. Hodenfield attended all the sessions at the three conferences and later wrote a book about them (See G.K. Hodenfield, *The education of teacher: Conflict and consensus* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1961).

[54] Hodenfield, *The education of teacher: Conflict and consensus*, p. ix.

[55] Hodenfield, *The education of teacher: Conflict and consensus*, p. 5.

[56] For a fuller discussion of this debate, see David L. Angus and Jeffrey E. Mirel, *The failed promise of the American high school, 1890-1995* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999).

[57] James Bryant Conant, *The education of American teachers* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1963), p. 60.

[58] See, for example, Robert M. Weiss, *The Conant controversy in teacher education* (New York: Random House, 1969).

[59] National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *Remaking the world of a career teacher* (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1966). National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *The teacher and his staff: Differentiating teaching roles* (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1968).

[60] National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *Teacher education: The decade ahead* (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1955). National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *The education of teachers: New perspectives*. National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *The education of teachers: Curriculum programs*. National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *Changes in teacher education: An appraisal* (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1963).

Margaret Lindsey, ed., *New horizons for the teaching profession* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 1961).

Lindsey, *New horizons for the teaching profession*, pp. vii, ix.

Early in the report, the New Horizons Task Force defined the teaching profession as consisting of five component groups as follows: 1,400,000 teachers in public elementary and secondary schools; 220,000 teachers in private elementary and secondary schools; 130,000 school administrators, supervisors, consultants, researchers, and other specialists in elementary and secondary schools; 350,000 professional personnel in higher education institutions; and 25,000 professional staff members in professional organizations, in government offices of education, and in private agencies with educational programs (Lindsey, *New horizons for the teaching profession*, p. 5). The report was mindful that this was to be seen as a new concept of the profession, and there was an implication that within the profession thus defined, power should be distributed roughly in proportion to these numbers. Note that faculties of education, the core of the profession as it functioned in the 1900 to 1945 period, were not even separately identified.

Lindsey, *New horizons for the teaching profession*, p. 213.

This account is based largely on Lucien B. Kinney, *Certification in Education* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964). Kinney strongly favored professional autonomy and control of entry, was himself involved in the process described (though it is not clear in what capacity), and counted the outcome of certification revision in California as a defeat for those who shared his views. I have also utilized brief discussions of the California reform by W. Earl Armstrong and T.M. Stinnett, as well as James B. Conant. See Armstrong and Stinnett, *A manual on certification requirements for school personnel in the United States*, 1961; Armstrong and Stinnett, *A manual on certification requirements for school personnel in the United States*, 1964; Conant, *The education of American teachers*.

By 1961, only eight states had not done a thorough review of certification requirements. Armstrong and Stinnett, *A manual on certification requirements for school personnel in the United States*, 1961, pp. 3, 4.

The "approved program approach," as Conant rightly observed, was a highly ambiguous concept since states which utilized it differed greatly in the nature and extent of detail in the state education department rules on which approval was based. California's program approval was based on a fairly rigorous set of criteria in which the number of credit hours in each of several areas of study (though not course titles) was specified. TEPS and its state affiliates favored the approved program approach but sought to greatly reduce the specificity of the approval criteria, seeking to place more control over teacher education programs in the hands of at least some segment of the education profession.

Kinney, *Certification in education*, p. 103.

The CEA bill tried to get legal sanction for an advisory committee along the lines of the California Council on Teacher Education. From the perspective of the profession, this was a part of the process of establishing professional control of entry similar to that in medicine and law. To those outside the profession, it appeared as nothing more than an unwarranted power grab. See Conant, *The education of American teachers*, p. 17. The bill actually passed in the legislature but was vetoed by the governor.

Kinney, *Certification in education*, p. 104.

Conant, *The education of American teachers*, pp. 24, 25.

Many observers of this movement saw the vast majority of classroom teachers as apathetic and uninformed about such matters as teacher education and certification. The many classroom teachers who attended TEPS conferences were active leaders in state affiliates of the NEA or other state teachers' organizations.

Timothy M. Stinnett, *Turmoil in teaching: a history of the organizational struggle for America's teachers* (New York: Macmillan, 1968). Kinney, *Certification in Education*.

This is not to suggest that there were no real operational differences between these concepts during the decade (Stinnett, *Turmoil in teaching*).

Stinnett, *Turmoil in teaching*.

Despite this flurry of reform activity and concerns about teacher education at this time, it is interesting to note that the national goals adopted by President Bush and the nation's governors in 1989 did not address the issue of teacher preparation.

Labaree, *How to succeed in school without really learning*, pp. 129-30, 159.

United States Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, *The Condition of Education, 1999* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1999), p. 72. See also U.S. Department of Education, *What's happening in teacher testing? An analysis of state teacher testing practices* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1987).

Mary H. Futrell and Sharon P. Robinson, "Testing teachers: An overview of NEA's position, policy and involvement," *Journal of Negro Education* (1986) v. 55, pp. 397-404.

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